

JPRS 71618

3 August 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1573

EAST

EUROPE

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
Approved for Public Release
Distribution Unlimited

Reproduced From
Best Available Copy

20000724 110

U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED

REPRODUCED BY
**NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE**
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22151. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET	1. Report No. JPRS 71618	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1573		5. Report Date 3 August 1978	
7. Author(s)		6.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		8. Performing Organization Repr. No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
		11. Contract/Grant No.	
		13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
		14.	
15. Supplementary Notes			
16. Abstracts The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.			
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors			
<input type="checkbox"/> International Affairs <input type="checkbox"/> Albania <input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland <input type="checkbox"/> Romania <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia		Propaganda Political Science Sociology Military Organizations	
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms			
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15			
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 83
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price PCA45

3 August 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1573

CONTENTS

PAGE

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- SSR Ministry of Education Officials Explain New School Law
(Stefan Okruhlica, Pavel Kelco, Stefan Bojtar, Jan
Gallo Interviews; PRACA, 11 Jul 78) 1

EAST GERMANY

- Concept of Proper National Pride Explained
(Various sources, various dates) 7
- West German Commentary
True Socialist Patriotism Described, Stefan Doernberg
Interview

HUNGARY

- Aczel Warns of Expecting Ultimate Solutions
(Gyorgy Aczel; KRITIKA, Jun 78) 13

POLAND

- Polish Relations With Third World Discussed
(Eugeniusz Kulaga Interview; ZA WOLNOSC I LUD, 1 Apr 78). 20
- Progress, Problems in Polish-FRG Relations Reviewed
(TRYBUNA LUDU, 22 Jun 78) 24
- Airfield Runways Viewed as Outdated, Damaging
(Ryszard Filar, et al.; WOJSKOWY PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY,
Mar 78) 27

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

YUGOSLAVIA

Territorial Defense Chiefs Interviewed (NARODNA ARMIJA, various dates)	31
Croatia's General Jukic, Augustin Jukic Interview	
Kosovo's General Recica, Ethem Recica Interview	
Macedonia's General Causev, Boro Causev Interview	
Slovenia's General Jerkic, Branko Jerkic Interview	
Serbia's General Tanaskovic, Rajko Tanaskovic Interview	
Vojvodina's General Radovanov, Milenko Radovanov Interview	
Preparation for 1981 Population Census Discussed (VJESNIK, 8 Jun 78)	59
Law on Arms, Military Equipment Productions and Traffic Proposed (Franci Stres; DELO, 13 Jun 78)	61
Setinc Addresses Statutory Commission Representatives (Boris Dolnicar, Tine Guzej; DELO, 14 Jun 78)	63
CD Spokesmen Advocate Greater Emergency Preparedness (Milos Sulin, Polde Stukelj; DELO, 14 Jun 78)	66
Consequences of Consumer Mania Weighed (Slobodanka Ast, Milan Milosevic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 11 Jun 78)	71

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SSR MINISTRY OF EDUCATION OFFICIALS EXPLAIN NEW SCHOOL LAW

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 11 Jul 78 p 4

[Interview with SSR Ministry of Education officials Stefan Okruhlica, Pavel Kelco, Stefan Bojtar and Jan Gallo, by reporter Alica Vargova; date and place not given]

[Text] Thirty years after the enactment of the unified school in Czechoslovakia and its subsequent development on the principles of socialist democracy, a change has occurred recently: the original School Law has been amended. The Federal Assembly, and the national councils of our two republics have adopted government-sponsored bills on the state administration of education and on educational establishments, thereby amending Section 24, Paragraph 2, of the Czechoslovak Constitution.

We interviewed top officials of the SSR Ministry of Education on what progress the new statutory regulations represent. The interviewed officials are: Stefan Okruhlica, LLD, director of the Office of the Minister; Pavel Kelco, director of the Department of Secondary Education; Engr Stefan Bojtar, director of the Department of Apprentice Schools; and Jan Gallo, director of the Department of First-Cycle Schools, Special Schools and Educational Establishments.

Also Nine-Year Schoolf for the Time Being

PRACA: What is the significance of the Law on Measures Concerning the System of Basic and Secondary Education that amends the Constitutional Law on Compulsory School Attendance? And how will the new law be implemented?

S. Okruhlica: Section 24, Paragraph 2, of the Czechoslovak Constitutions guarantees the right to education that is ensured through the basic education of all youths. This is tuition-free education and is compulsory up to age 15. However, the document on the further development of the Czechoslovak educational system presupposes that compulsory school attendance for all youths will be extended to age 16 and will span ten years. To make this plan legally binding, it has been necessary to amend this section of the Constitution.

Ten-year compulsory school attendance will be introduced gradually. Therefore the constitutional law states that the length of compulsory school

attendance is determined by a law of the Federal Assembly. On 21 June, the Federal Assembly adopted the Law on Measures Concerning the System of Basic and Secondary Schools, on the basis of this authorization. The new law sets compulsory school attendance so that there may be ten-year compulsory school attendance parallel with nine-year compulsory attendance. Ten-year school attendance is compulsory for students enrolled in the 1976-1977 school year or thereafter. For students who started school before the 1976-1977 school year, nine-year attendance remains obligatory.

PRACA: In other words, the new law is fully binding for children who this school year completed the first or second grade of the present ZDS [basic nine-year school]. Let us explain this more closely.

J. Gallo: In practice it follows from the preceding that nine-year and ten-year compulsory school attendance will exist side by side through the end of the 1983-1984 school year. That is the year the last nine-year school students and the first students of the new basic school will be graduating.

Prospects at Age 14

PRACA: The Project of the Czechoslovak Educational System and the new law call exclusively for an eight-year basic school. The students finishing that school will be only 14 years old.

S. Okruhlica: Ten-year compulsory school attendance in the remaining two years will be realized in the first two classes of secondary schools: high school, secondary vocational school, and secondary vocational institute. Under the present nine-year compulsory school attendance, youths acquire only basic education. Under 10-year compulsory school attendance, students will acquire secondary education, and gradually complete secondary education with a diploma.

PRACA: The situation is clear in the case of those students who finish eight-year basic school and then complete one of the two-year trade courses. But what about the students who enroll in a three-year or four-year secondary school but do not graduate?

P. Kelco: All youths will gain higher general education and also the fundamentals of vocational training so that they may perform more-skilled work. This has been made necessary by the development of science and technology, and also by the present level of society. Two years of secondary school will be compulsory in every case. A parent will not be able to say: "I am taking him out because I don't like this school."

The plan will continue to determine the assignment of youths to the individual types of schools, to trades and branches of study. A student who finishes, say, the second year of high school will gain secondary education: a broader general overview than up to now, and a certain vocational orientation. But he will lack qualification, unlike if he were to complete one of the two-year vocational courses.

S. Okruhlica: He will receive a certificate stating that he has completed his compulsory school attendance and may be employed. He will have gained also the prerequisites for further part-time study, particularly in the appropriate specialization.

'Twelve Years Are Sufficient'

PRACA: In this context we would like to know what will happen to students who completed eight grades of basic nine-year school and have already enrolled in secondary school.

S. Okruhlica: If they do not complete secondary school, they will have to return to the ninth grade so as gain their basic education.

J. Gallo: The basic objective is to raise the level of general education. To shift it from the basic to the secondary level. The inevitable substantive and organizational changes in the educational system also serve this objective. The concept "basic education" ceases to exist for those who enrolled in school on 1 September 1976 or thereafter.

PRACA: What led to the shortening of school attendance at the basic level?

J. Gallo: It has become evident worldwide that 12 years are sufficient to acquire complete secondary education. This is one of the reasons. The other reason stems from the mental maturity of our younger generation. We take into consideration also the preschool education of children, although this is no substitute for formal education.

PRACA: Education is successfully fulfilling the party program that the 15th CPCZ Congress approved, starting out from the objective conditions of society. Nearly 70 percent of the children from 3 to 5 years of age are included in preschool programs. But what provisions are made for the other children? This question is of exceptional importance especially now when attendance in basic school is being shortened.

J. Gallo: Mostly the kindergartens provide preschool education. The children who cannot be placed in kindergartens are assigned to so-called preparatory sections before they enter school. The kindergartens also organize assistance for parents, counseling on what to teach the children, what toys to buy for them. In other words, how to play with them creatively so as to promote the all-round development of their abilities.

P. Kelco: Preschool education is being intensified already in the day nurseries. Their original social and health nature has been broadened to include also the educational aspect. The point is particularly to form the children's speech, from habits.

Open System

S. Okruhlica: In this context it should also be noted that preschool education is the responsibility of entire society. The obligation to build

special-purpose establishments applies also to all socialist organizations, and not only to production organizations.

PRACA: Our public already knows that basic school will have eight grades. But what will be its content?

J. Gallo: The present function of basic school will change. It will no longer comprise a relatively closed system as it did up to now. It will tie in with the education of children in kindergarten and will create conditions for study at the secondary level of education. Instruction will start out already in the lowest grades from the children's natural acceleration and will build on their active work. The former first grade will cease to be elementary.

Significant changes will occur particularly in the instruction of mathematics, which will be based on the method of sets and mathematical logic. A similar method will be applied also to other subjects.

The higher grades, too, will be more demanding. They are intended to teach the student to work independently, and their main objective is to imbue the youth with a desire for higher education and to implant in him the need of lifelong self-improvement.

S. Bojtar: We have outlined the way in which the basic school's content is being modernized, particularly its methods and forms of work. But at the same time basic school must also motivate a decision for further study in one of the three branches of secondary education.

Closely related to this is also work education, which we wish to raise from the manual-craft concept to a higher level, so that the student himself may be able to assess his abilities.

S. Okruhlica: Also for these reasons the question of educational counseling has been incorporated in the new law.

Knowledge of Human Labor

PRACA: Interest in high-school study is increasing. However, the new Project of Czechoslovak Education is changing also the high school's content.

P. Kelco: Study will not be divided into two sections--classical and technical--as up to now. It will be unified. The technical and exact natural sciences will receive priority in the curriculum. Besides mastering the principles of the sciences, students will gain also a knowledge of human labor. This will bring to fulfillment our educational efforts and concepts of 1948, that the students gain also a technical education.

PRACA: You are contemplating a group of subjects that are called optional. Which are these subjects?

P. Kelco: First of all the principles of mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, construction, chemical technology, agriculture, economics

and organization. We are considering to introduce eventually also other subjects.

PRACA: This matter has already been tested in practice through experiments, and it must be admitted that the results have been successful. At Trencin High School, for example, the final examinations in optional subjects were very good. But what are the designs of society as a whole in this respect?

P. Kelco: Introduction of groups of optional subjects has two advantages in particular. First of all, we want to steer the graduating high-school student more clearly to technical majors. Secondly and equally important, if the high-school graduate does not enroll in full-time study, he is able to find employment in the field about which he has gained basic knowledge and can continue his studies. There are ample forms and opportunities for further study to gain full qualification.

New Type of School

PRACA: Secondary vocational institutes, of which there will be 111 in Slovakia alone after 1 September, are certainly a novelty in the Czechoslovak educational system. What will this mean in practice?

S. Bojtar: Establishment of secondary vocational institutes is linked to the pronounced structural changes in society. The primary purpose is to attain a higher level in training young workers for significantly more-demanding trades than what we have been accustomed to so far. Secondary vocational institutes are to train mature members of the working class, vocationally as well as in terms of general education and ideology. Decisive here will be general study that will enable students to choose any major for further study, ensuring them admission to any school in accordance with their abilities.

J. Gallo: The point, in other words, is to bring closer and equalize all three branches of secondary education.

S. Bojtar: Not only in name but also in terms of the curricula of the schools.

PRACA: Secondary vocational institutes will begin to operate already in the coming school year. Is their material-technical base adequately prepared?

S. Bojtar: At present we are pursuing two sets of objectives. The short-term objectives concern the modernization of the premises, of the schools, shops and dormitories. In other words, we must improve at an accelerated rate everything that can be improved in this respect.

We expect to solve our long-term objectives by 1984. These objectives are incorporated in the programs of the kraj national committees and individual ministries. Some of them involve capital construction. But the

material-technical base cannot dispense with integrating the smaller school facilities into larger units and with pooling resources, even between ministries.

S. Okruhlica: The law directly orders that every effort be made and all resources be expended for the solution of this problem. In the final outcome, the plants and enterprises will be training cadres for themselves.

Problems Cannot Be Bypassed

PRACA: The problems cannot be bypassed in any case. Everyone must contribute his share toward their solution. For the time being, we cannot accuse the economic organizations of ignoring us. So far, in most cases, they have met education halfway. But what will be the competence of the two participating parties in the management of SOU's [secondary vocational institutes]?

S. Bojtar: The law emphasizes the status of state administration. Secondary vocational institutes are to become independent economic organizations. Financial provisions for the students also will be solved.

S. Okruhlica: As soon as the spirit of secondary vocational institutes is properly understood, they will become much more attractive than the other secondary schools.

S. Bojtar: All [three] branches of secondary education will train for a practical profession as well as educate for further study at a higher educational institution. The graduates of secondary vocational institutes, too, can become medical doctors, philosophers or poets. We are likewise considering that one of the pedagogical faculties could train teachers especially for secondary vocational institutes, and to this faculty we would send primarily the graduates of such schools.

1014

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

CONCEPT OF PROPER NATIONAL PRIDE EXPLAINED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 116, 19 Jun 78 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Official Warns Against 'Overemphasizing National Interests.'" A translation of the Karl-Marx-Stadt FREIE PRESSE interview discussed below follows this commentary]

[Text] The director of the Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Prof Dr Stefan Doernberg, has warned against "overemphasizing national interests," whereby he evidently also meant GDR interests, within the socialist community of states. In an interview with the SED paper FREIE PRESSE, published in Karl-Marx-Stadt (Chemnitz), Doernberg said it was of course not always simple "to make the right decisions which would conform to the national interests as well as to the higher interests of the socialist community of states." In the view of the SED functionary it would however be "short-sighted to seek advantages by overemphasizing national interests." Over the long run that would not be a laughing matter. In the rapprochement among the socialist nations and states there would of course also occur "contradictions and conflicts." But already today, so he claims, "we are more closely tied to the socialist nations of our fraternal countries than to the other, the capitalist, German nation in the FRG."

The SED functionary in this context also attacked Bonn's theory of the "continued existence of the German nation." The "socialist German nation" that had emerged in the GDR differed "in principle from the capitalist German nation, in all the decisive criteria." Bonn's theory meant "nothing else but the aggressive claim, in violation of international law, to incorporating the GDR." Such claims to "our country and our people" should have to be rebuked vigorously.

True Socialist Patriotism Described

Karl-Marx-Stadt FREIE PRESSE in German 13 Jun 78 p 6

[Interview with Prof Dr Stefan Doernberg, director, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; by Harald Klemm and Peter Bretschneider, FREIE PRESSE editorial staff members: "Is National Pride Something Disreputable?" For related information, see JPRS 71116, 15 May 1978, No 1534 of this series, pp 36-55]

[Text] Socialist patriotism stands in unbridgeable opposition to bourgeois nationalism. The workers class and all other working people have for the first time in history found a real fatherland in the GDR. Sentimentalizing about being German is an old trick by certain circles in the FRG for covering up imperialist class interests. Pretending that the "nation continues to exist" contradicts reality and indicates the FRG's continued sole representation claim. Even the first 30 years of the GDR have been sufficient to writing a new chapter in the many hundred years of German history. The socialist German nation finds its future in the community of the socialist states. The people's industry and creativity and their consistent peace policy and passionate solidarity have gained respect and recognition in the world. Our socialist Germany is the continuation and culmination of the work of all progressive forces of our people.

[Question] Is national pride something disreputable?

[Answer] By no means. Even though the ruling exploiter classes, the reactionaries of the various shades have often played an underhand game with it. The history of all nations knows many examples showing that national pride is something very positive. That has been so whenever it was tied up with the people's struggle for freedom and social progress.

[Question] And today?

[Answer] Today, for example, national pride is of a positive importance when it opposes the rule of imperialism, hostile as it is to peoples and nations, and helps in using all the progressive potentials which every nation is capable of, placing them in the service to man.

[Question] You suggest the concept of national pride is also being misused.

[Answer] The exploiter classes always seek to misuse good qualities like national pride for their own ends. They are corrupting it into nationalism

and chauvinism. Or they are trying to exploit patriotic sentiments in conjuring up some national unity, something that cannot exist at all in a society with class antagonism. That demagoguery was especially crass during the time of Hitler fascism.

[Question] What did national pride mean at that time?

[Answer] Genuine national pride then mainly meant engaging in struggle against the fascist rulers. The most important condition for preserving the nation was the overcoming of fascism. The antifascists therefore were the champions of the nation's interests.

[Question] . . . although the brown rulers denounced and persecuted them as "traitors to the nation."

[Answer] That is part of stirring up the people. The truth is that those who were mouthing the word nation in the sense of that nationalistic craving for absolute power committed fateful crimes against the German people and against other peoples. They defiled the name of the German nation.

[Question] The appeal for the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR says that even the first 30 years of our Republic have been sufficient for writing a new chapter in the many hundred years of German history. Where do we find the evidence for that?

[Answer] Mainly in that the concepts of "fatherland" and "nation" received entirely new meanings, given them by socialism. The three decades of the emergence and growth of our Republic demonstrate that only on socialist foundations it is possible to provide a nation, as a historically grown community, with an unrestrained progressive quality. Its most important criterion became the political-moral unity of the people, freed from exploitation and class antagonism. In our workers and farmers state, as Comrade Erich Honecker put it at the eighth SED Central Committee session, the workers class and all other working people have for the first time in German history found a real fatherland.

[Question] How can that be proven?

[Answer] The first and decisive proof I see in that our workers class in alliance with all working people is successfully exercising the power in our state. Everything, in domestic or foreign policy, is determined entirely by the working people and serves their interests. That is as persuasively demonstrated by the course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, decided on by the Eighth and Ninth SED Congresses, as by our state's consistent peace policy.

[Question] Why do the GDR citizens have every reason to be proud of their fatherland?

[Answer] Our national pride primarily results from that our working people, led by the workers class and its party, have in a historically very brief period accomplished a unique achievement. Through its dynamic economic upswing, our country occupies a stable position among the ten most important industrial countries in the world. Impressive also are the new interhuman relations, this ever more noticeable being for each other and with each other. Conspicuous also is that we have a learning and working nation in the GDR--training has not by coincidence become one of the most topical concepts.

Far from last, I also would like to refer to the deep roots international solidarity has taken in our people, of which we also may be proud. All that is part and parcel of our fundamental rejection of imperialist and fascist ideology, of our people's passionate advocacy of peace and its being firmly anchored in the socialist community of states. And so we have gained respect and recognition in the world.

[Question] A letter to the editor published in FREIE PRESSE recently asked whether nationalism could also arise under socialism. What is your view on that?

[Answer] In terms of objective inevitabilities, that is not possible. But nothing here is automatic.

If national interests are overemphasized, then there is the risk of sliding into nationalistic positions. In our political-ideological work, therefore, the development of national pride always must maintain the proper balance with proletarian internationalism. It is of course not always simple to make the right decisions which would conform to the national interests as well as to the higher interests of the socialist community of states. Our development is marked by providing ever better agreement between the two.

[Question] What would happen if, in a one-sided manner, we were to give preference to national interests?

[Answer] It would be short-sighted to seek advantages by overemphasizing national interests. Over the long run that would not be a laughing matter. After all, the successes in the development of our state thus far, and in that of our fraternal countries, all depend on mutual assistance, on our unity and cohesion. The rapprochement of the socialist nations and states has become an inevitable phenomenon and proceeds over a long period of time. Contradictions and conflicts do occur here, of course, since something totally novel is emerging here in terms of international relations. But already today we are more closely tied to the socialist nations of our fraternal countries than to the other, the capitalist, German nation in the FRG.

[Question] Reactionary forces in the FRG insist on the theory of the "continued existence of the German nation." They then often refer to the "common traditions" or the "common history of culture" and so forth. What is the purpose of that?

[Answer] Those imperialist forces refuse to reconcile themselves to that our GDR no longer is subjected to their power. So they once again are seeking to pretend that their class interests, which are hostile to the people, are the nation's interests. Pretending that the "nation continues to exist" contradicts reality and thus is an element of a policy that foment conflicts. It actually amounts to none but the somewhat modified sole representation claim from Cold War days. Behind it are those imperialist circles in the FRG that with malice aforethought split Germany in 1945 in order to frustrate at least in the then three Western sectors a historically ripened rigorous antifascist-democratic development conforming to the interests of the peoples of Europe, restore the old power and economic relations and make possible the rebirth of German militarism, integrated in the aggressive bloc of NATO.

[Question] We, however, did draw the historically necessary consequence.

[Answer] Indeed. As a result there emerged the socialist German nation that differs in principle from the capitalist German nation in all the decisive criteria.

[Question] How is that reflected?

[Answer] The contrasts are obvious: We have social security and safety for all people--the FRG, agony of existence and the destruction of the basic rights such as the right to work for many people. We have a peace policy as the supreme state doctrine--the FRG granting power and a wide margin to the aggressive warmongering imperialist circles. These contrasting manifestations are based on opposing social relations, which has long led ad absurdum the "continued existence of the nation."

[Question] The theory of the "continued existence of the nation" thus aims at negating the socialist German nation?

[Answer] So it is, and it actually means nothing else but maintaining the aggressive claim, in violation of international law, to incorporating the GDR within the FRG imperialists' sphere of supremacy. The proponents of that theory naturally do not get any closer to their goal by constantly reiterating their unrealistic utterances. Our socialist German nation finds its future secured within the community of the socialist states.

[Question] Then we surely do not depend on sympathy declarations from Bonn.

[Answer] By no means. Presumptuous claims to our country and our people have to be resolutely rebuffed, however. They not only contradict the

Final Act of Helsinki and other international accords, they also block the formation of a climate of trust in the relations among the European states and oppose the process of detente. They also arouse illusions among those adventurous forces which through their miscalculations about the power ratio in German history have played a fateful role more than once.

[Question] And what about this "common history of culture?"

[Answer] Which does no doubt exist. The point, however, is what values are placed on it and what benefits are derived from it for present days. We have every good reason to say: Our socialist Germany is the continuation and culmination of the works of all our people's progressive forces, be it those of art and culture, like Goethe, Beethoven and Hegel, or in the natural sciences, like those by Roentgen and Einstein. Above all also the revolutionary legacy has found its realization in our Republic. Thomas Muentzer's recognition that "power shall be given to common man" and Karl Marx' doctrine of the world-transforming strength of the workers class have been put into effect in our socialist German nation.

5885

CSO: 2300

ACZEL WARNS OF EXPECTING ULTIMATE SOLUTIONS

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Jun 78 pp 3-4

[Article by Gyorgy Aczel]

[Text] Our age confronts us daily with new events and phenomena, with transformations that are sometimes unexpected--both in our country and on far-away continents. The eye, capable of looking only, would not even be able to follow all that happens in the world if it could not sense beyond the surface, break through the illusions and find and explore the deeper connections. We need ideological courage and spiritual strength to be--using the words of Marx and Engels--historical contemporaries of our century.

Part of the social view is the understanding of the inner nature of historical processes. I will highlight two of the many characteristics of the processes which occur in the human world. One is that social movement usually does not proceed in a straight path--its motion can rather be described as a spiral or a wave motion. It is not rare for progress to make its way in the difficult struggle of forward movement and fall back. Socialism can only moderate the inequalities of progress but can not abolish it. Thinking of our 30 years of progress no one possessing social responsibilities can deny that Hungarian society has greatly progressed and the material and spiritual conditions of our people's living conditions have changed radically--and for the betterment of the masses. But neither can a responsible person say that this progress occurred evenly, in all sectors of life. We must see clearly (and make others see it also) that there were years within these 30 years when social progress was halted by painful complications--think only of the tragic injustices of the personality cult and the counterrevolutionary destruction.

A more accurate analysis of the process may also show that the halts or partial lags were caused sometimes by distortions that originated from subjective mistakes (hence they are not objective, inherent events) and other times when, in spite of favorable subjective occurrences, objective circumstances slowed the progress.

The other characteristic of the nature of social transformations is that the results, solutions, and satisfied demands bear new tasks, problems, and needs. Hence, there is no "end station" on the path of history when an age of no problems will dawn. To conceive of history with such an end station is not only naive--it is also dangerous. We should also add that the methods of our agitation (especially in the 50's) promoted an almost "miraculous" solution to everything in the near future. We kept so quiet about the laws of multiplying problems and tasks that accompany progress that although speeches were made of the "sky" as the "upper limit," doubts and mistaken notions began to form in the working people concerning the real nature of progress.

The change in a situation results in a new situation and in this new situation a whole new collection of problems and questions occur. This is, naturally, valid not just for our country and not just for the communities of the socialist countries. I want to digress to illustrate. Since World War II, more than 80 colonies have obtained their independence. As long as these countries lived under colonial suppression their common (or at least deeply related) path was the struggle for independence. After they became independent the specific development problems of sovereign countries started cropping up; in this respect the picture presented by the Third World is a lot more complex than in the era of colonial domination. The situation of victorious Angola, or Laos, for example, illustrates what heretofore unknown difficulties reside in the colonial past, what it takes to overcome the terrible inheritance of backward conditions and to forge forward to socialism in such conditions. But in the person who sees the new complexity and has a healthy historical sense the insane thought to "return" to the tragic "simplicity" of the colonial status will not take root.... We could bring up another example. In the atmosphere of the Cold War hundreds of millions could live through the basic contrasting forces of capitalism and socialism in the "simplicity" of threats and intimidation. As the relationship changed and the sharply delimited, peaceful coexistence form developed, we now have to prove ourselves in the more complex media of debates, dialogs, and material and spiritual traffic. Only those people who cannot find their directions in a complicated situation or whose socialist conviction has loosened, can say or wish that we should continue our struggles by returning to the past "under simpler circumstances."

The knowledge of the true nature of progress is necessary so that we can react to its characteristics correctly, true to the interests of progress and our world view. In our age, presenting us with the complex balance of world power, those who see the new tasks and speak of the sunset of revolution and bring up, nostalgically, the beauty of the revolutionary hurrahs, regarding them as the only salvation, become the brakemen of the revolutionary workers movement and the dams of progress--in spite of their purest, most sincere wishes. Unwittingly, they find allies among those compromisers who, using the new means of contacts (demanded by the new situation), tend to compromise (claiming it necessary for progress) even

when the situation does not call for compromise. This behavior exchanges the revolutionary posture to that of opportunism and abandonment of principles.

The evolution of social business and the nature of progress are also mirrored on the level of objective truths in Marxism. Lenin calls dialectics the spirit of Marxism. It interprets the live, dynamic mutual influence of theory and practice and demands the exploration and solution of the unity and strife of the contrasts.

Our theory does not and cannot satisfy the desire for simplification by everyday thinking to give a final certainty that solves everything--a key to the lock of history that is good once and for all. It cannot fulfill the unspoken desire of the many not to have to think. All attempts that follow the line of least resistance and serve spiritual sloth and want to apply the Marxist-Leninist thoughts as a closed system of vulgarized dogmas must be opposed most determinedly. Such attempts would, sooner or later, rob our theory of its attraction and, what is no less dangerous, of its practical effectiveness. We do not successfully oppose these attempts by lowering the theoretical level to a makeshift instinctiveness which discards scientific scaffolding and devalues necessary studying. If we adopted either extreme we would decrease the power and practical effectiveness of our ideas and increase the field of movement of the enemies of Marxism. Especially in the present stage of our development it is important how we publicize our truths. We are past the era when dogmatism did not explain our ideological system to the people but, as Brecht wrote, "forced it, like bitter beer, on them."

But is this enough? Having the years of crude vulgarization behind us, should we not ask whether our present world view education work is worthy of the intellectual greatness of Marxism-Leninism, if it has grown up to those new tasks that our society's socialist order and the program announcement of the ninth congress asked us?

It is not easy to teach, in the usual sense of the word, the system of our ideas. Our classics did not create a collection of theses which are valid for every situation, they did not write a theoretical catechism. They based their teachings that faced the problems of their age, searching for the opportunities for revolutionary practice while they were organizing the international workers movement and looking for new discoveries. This is why the creative freshness and the excitement of the intellectual match with the unforeseen historical phenomena pulses in every one of their writings.

He who does not see the lasting power in the mobility and principle-based flexibility of our theory (stemming from the fact that its dialectics is not only a method but also the theoretical expression of the objective nature of progress) does not understand Marxism. This is why not just any kind of flexibility satisfies our dialectics. Lenin warned against confusing

Marxist dialectics with that simplifying method "which justifies the zig-zagging line of opportunist politicians who left the revolutionary wing of the party for the opportunist wing... with that vulgar habit which places individual statements that were made in individual moments in the various stages of progress under the same hat." Marxist-Leninist dialectics can never serve as the justification for individual mistakes and can never substitute for the most detailed and concrete study of progress. Our materialist and dialectical theory is the creation and necessary sustaining medium of revolutionary practice which changes the possibilities of social progress to reality. Our dialectics is the unceasing, self-correcting incentive.

To convey our truths--actually, to help others to learn them ever deeper, because it is impossible to literally transfer them--means also that we rear our contemporaries and successors into unceasing questers and passionate answer-seekers, into people who search the reality of our age. The frequent "incomprehension" of our youth, the difficulties of our recent past, and the reasons for the regressions already mentioned warn us that social experiences are not inherited automatically; we can only transfer them if we unceasingly seek out the reality of our own age. To do this, however, we must know that the theoretical, learnable truths of Marxism do not waive for us a thorough and many-sided analysis of practice. Gramsci said rightly that only social effectiveness can tell whether a theory is a mere fantasy. In this sense, we must take seriously the Marxian thought that the "educator must also be educated" which applies to everyone, without exceptions. We can add: the good educator is characterized by the fact that he is educable, that he listens to those who, in the possession of direct experience, interpret the words for him. This responsive listening to reality, our chief educator, is one of the decisive conditions to insure the ability of our Marxist conviction for constant renewal.

"As the historical creative activity of the people expands and deepens, a growing fraction of the population which is a conscious historical factor increases linearly (Lenin)."

The direct task of the spreading of the Marxist-Leninist ideas is our country today is to help explain to an ever increasing number of workers, peasants, and intellectual workers the contemporary reality of these ideas and their lively and complex mobility in the texture of contradictions which crop up again and again in our progress.

It is no accident that Lenin warned--and, in fact, right after the victory of the October revolution--that when we sing in our international theme song, the "Internationale," the line "this fight will be the last one" it is a little inaccurate.

Understandably, the ruling classes of the exploitation societies regarded and proclaimed their rule as eternal. Nothing could be farther from us, communist revolutionaries, to believe that contradictions disappeared from reality and "history has ended." This is as big a mistake as to forget in our country that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a historical phase, a stage toward the classless society. But it is not an automatic phase that leads to a higher grade, to a developed socialism and beyond, without our activity and struggle.

The pace of development, the forward progress of the results, the detours and failures and their vanquishment--all depend on whether we have the theoretical strength and practical courage to recognize the unexpected results of our steps and whether we have energy to name and solve the contradictions arising from our activities.

I repeat: We cannot give a ready theoretical answer to every problem and there is no "stored" mechanism which will automatically solve the new problems of a new situation. But this is not the weakness of our theory--it is its strength because it is connected with the recognition of the nature of social progress.

The constant comparison of theoretical theses with mobile life assures the constant renewal of Marxism. This is the spirit of Marxism and this spirit is indeed "immortal"--no matter how much they have tried to fabricate the news of its demise, ever since its creation. Comparison and development can, of course, be only a collective activity, because even though there are people who know the theory better than others, the problems of our reality are everybody's knowledge and touch each of us and all can and must contribute to their understanding. Only in this process can our ideas be absorbed. The more developed a country's workers movement is and the more politically and economically developed the circumstances are where the movement takes place, the more people participate in the formation of the theory and the richer opportunities open for individual achievements and the flowering of the personality.

The burial activity of those proclaiming the death of Marxism can be explained, with a little good will, by the fact that they are unable to differentiate between the lasting essence of the cornerstone truths of Marxism, valid even in its changes and its other theses which have a space- and time-limited validity. This is why they mix up obsolescence and constant renewal. It is not our problem how the theoreticians of the bourgeoisie come to terms, within themselves, with the logical contradiction showing between their propagandistic attempts and reality. It is their problem how they explain that they are forced to combat Marxism again and again--declared dead by them and validated as truth in a large part of the world.

Hence, Marxism-Leninism has nothing in common with the bourgeois or revisionist view that says "everything is relative" and denies the validity of all the guiding principles that were determined by practical and theoretical work. This view matches with a hopeless inner skepticism and leads to bankless swamps of doubt. Reality has its laws, even when the relation of our law and the always much richer reality is very complex. This relation was expressed succinctly by Jozsef Attila when he wrote that the "fabric of the law always splits somewhere." But the splits are not the same. Our experience shows that the law splits if it is not respected and the reality is forced to carry out unrealistic wishes. But there are, and will again be, cases where the realization itself produces unexpected or not fully foreseen "holes," new, unexpected problems.

It is not easy to understand the splittings of the law and incomprehension can be a cause of a dogmatic or revisionist reaction. Only, while the dogmatic cannot--or does not dare--to see the split (because he does not want to undertake an independent analysis), the revisionist regards the whole cloth as spoiled and is willing to discard it.

The dogmatic reaction is an indirect and the revisionist one is a direct surrender in the ideological struggle against bourgeois ideology--but in both, Marxist dialectics is given up.

The correct position regarding both the above faulty reactions is the recognition and acknowledgement of "splitting" and the need for "reweaving"--in practical action. This, at the same time, assures the inviolability of the solid basic principles and constant renewal of the theory. Only this way can the thought embodied in the Communist Manifesto (a guide that never becomes obsolete) be realized: "Communists strive for the direct goals and interests of the working class and in the present movement represent, at the same time, the future of the movement."

Our age teaches us that the feeling-out and the marking of the currently correct road is possible only through the free, open debate of the various views, on the basis of mutual patience and understanding. A true judgment can only be born on the basis of practical experience, the analysis and balancing of scientific results, and principled consistency stemming from the above. Not even the process of recognition of basic social laws can be divorced from this "method." In 1902, Lenin applied this recognition with his genius, concerning the workers movement spreading in the world: "... the social democratic movement is international in scope, due to its very nature. This does not only mean that we have to fight chauvinism. It also means that a movement starting in a young country can only be successful if it can lean on the experience of other countries. To do this, the simple knowledge of experience is not enough. Neither is the simple copying of the latest resolutions enough. It is also necessary to apply these experiences with criticism and balance them on our own. One only has to think how greatly and divergently the workers movement grew to understand what reserves of theoretical powers and political (and revolutionary) experience are needed to carry out this task."

Hence, if we are to represent the creative development of Marxism consistently, we must look out for two dangers at the same time. We must not receive new proposals or hypotheses suspiciously but we must be on our guard to avoid sanctifying the early theoretical generalizations (formulated on meager experience) without any modification as a "modernization." These seemingly "new" theories must undergo strict controls and criticism especially when they do not appear as mere hypotheses but as some kind of exclusive truth. The necessity of defending against theories which are not based on practice does not prove the scholasticism of Marxism--instead, it underlines its scientific strength. Therefore, to preserve our truth, we must combat the bureaucratic, soulless dogmatism and the destructive negativism, the "new waves" of destructive relativization, at the same time. In this struggle the mistakes and distortions must be rejected on the basis of scientifically valid interpretations of the new events of reality. This requires courage, heroic thought, and theoretical knowledge and preparedness. Only this way can one assess what is favorable and what is not. For Marxists, the analysis of and seeking for reality cannot be a self-ending exercise. The Marxists do not just want to explain, they want to change reality, in the interests of the working men, the people, humanity in general. Hundreds of thousands, millions, of workers, peasants, and intellectuals must grow up to their own historical role, to a spiritual and social awareness. To think in world processes--not in some utopian fashion but in an even more complex future which is rich in heretofore unforeseen difficulties--needs the intellectual efforts and strengths of people who are spiritually liberated. Only this way can one work revolutionarily even in everyday life.

10101

CSO: 2500

POLAND

POLISH RELATIONS WITH THIRD WORLD DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZA WOLNOSC I LUD in Polish No 13, 1 Apr 1978 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Eugeniusz Kulaga, by Malgorzata Wasilewska]

[Text] [Question] The general picture of the political activity of Poland in the international arena includes also active contacts with the Third World nations. What are, in your opinion, Mr Minister, the prospects of consolidating our relations with a region diversified in so many aspects?

[Answer] Poland's relations with nations of what is called the Third World, constituting a very important part of our foreign policy, are in a stage of constant development. Last year brought numerous examples of implementing such an approach towards developing nations. It is enough to remember that in that period, Edward Gierek, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, visited India; Henryk Jablonski, State Council chairman, visited Nigeria; Emil Wojtaszek, minister of foreign affairs, visited three countries of Latin America. In Poland we were hosts to A. Neto, the president of the People's Republic of Angola; Reza Pahlawi, the shah of Iran; the ministers of foreign affairs of Malaysia, Mali, Morocco, and the chairman of the liberating South West African People's Organization (SWAPO). These are convincing proofs of growing mutual interest and the political will of both sides for the continued development of hitherto existing contacts. This policy we intend to and will continue in the future.

The great diversity of the Third World, in political as well as social and economic aspects, does not exclude the fact that there are many points of contact between us, many levels of understanding. This applies mainly to the similar aspiration of ensuring equality in international cooperation, to a similar approach to the priorities of ensuring peace and international security in developing cooperation based on equal rights. We obviously have many things in common. These are the premises of further development of our relations with the countries of the Third World.

There are also practical premises. One premise is objective--the complementarity of our economies. This fact undoubtedly forms an excellent foundation for the broadening of mutual contacts.

Elements of a subjective nature should also be mentioned. I have already mentioned our will to develop many-sided relations with these countries, whose position in the world is continually growing and is appropriately appreciated. Let us also not forget that the Polish People's Republic, during its 30 years of existence, had to and has solved many problems facing the Third World at present. Let me use only one example: the education of cadres. It is known that one cannot assure a basis for proper economic and social development without ensuring a competent cadre. In this field we have worked out some forms which passed the test in our country and can be used in many other countries.

To sum up, I will say briefly once more: on the one hand, we are connected with the Third World in a similar approach to the fundamental directions of development of the international situation--peace, security, cooperation among all nations based on equal rights. On the other hand, our political will to broaden relations with developing nations is in many cases reciprocated.

[Question] The developing countries now occupy an important position in the contemporary structure of political power in the world. There are numerous examples indicating that the majority of the Third World nations is interested in the continuation of the process of international relaxation of tension. However, we are also encountering theories, one of which, for example, is based on the premise that creating a climate of peaceful coexistence between the East and the West causes a shift of tensions and armed conflicts from the area of the developed world to the region of the developing countries. Can one then expect that the nations of the developing countries will, in the future, put into practice the general provisions of the CSCE Final Act?

[Answer] The developing countries are at the present time a power which is based on the postulates of equal international cooperation and of securing a proper position in it. The basic problem of the Third World is acceleration of economic and social development, which is possible only in conditions of peace and security, assuming that various forms of neocolonialist and imperialist exploitation are eliminated. It is a fact that it is impossible to achieve clear, significant progress--such as the developing nations expect--without peace and security. This thesis is gaining increasingly widespread understanding in the Third World.

You mentioned some specific view propagated by some leaders of the Third World, a view alleging that creating a climate of peaceful coexistence between the East and the West is accompanied by a shift of tensions and conflicts from the areas of the developed world to the region of the developing countries. Indeed, at one time one could have come across such a view.

It seems to me, however, that it has been contradicted by developments in the international situation in recent years. These years have seen the realization of the policy of detente, crowned by the conference in Helsinki and the CSCE Final Act. In this period we have also witnessed such achievements of historical importance as the victory of the Vietnamese nation, the dissolution of the Portuguese colonial empire, and the creation of the independent republics of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

It should also be emphasized that in this period most progress was achieved in the field of working out the principles of a new, international economic order. I think, therefore, that the truth about a direct connection between the strengthening of peace and security, between strengthening of the principles of coexistence between the East and the West and a proper development of the international situation, which in turn influences the creation of better conditions for solving the problems troubling the Third World, is at present generally accepted. One can therefore look with optimism at the possibility and direction of implementing the general provisions of the CSCE Final Act in relations among the Third World nations as well as in the relations of the developing nations with other countries.

[Question] In recent years, the Third World has undertaken purposeful efforts to thoroughly rebuild its economic relations. What position does Poland represent vis-a-vis such problems as responsibility for the situation in the developing countries? In what context should one view the problem of aid to the Third World countries and of Poland's participation in shaping the foundations of new concepts for the development of international economic cooperation?

[Answer] A new economic order--this is a problem of great importance on which international organizations, especially the UN, have been working for many years. The problem, some of whose aspects have admittedly been transferred to other areas for some time, but which--as the 32nd session of the UN General Assembly demonstrated--has returned to its agenda.

The issue of a new order is derived from the undoubtedly just postulate of assuring equal rights in international economic relations. This postulate calls into question the current international division of labor of the imperialist and post-colonial type. We presented the Polish position on this matter at the 6th and 7th special sessions of the UN General Assembly. We have made an active contribution in working out the operating principles which should exclude any form of discrimination in relations among all nations. Now has come the time for negotiations on the specific international mechanisms which will assure the realization of these principles, for example, in the sphere of the world exchange of raw materials. We are participating in these negotiations, which also have direct importance for our economy. We fully accept the need for facilitating the start of the Third World towards gaining full economic independence, and for helping the developing nations to accelerate their development. We, as well as other socialist countries, cannot, however, admit the demands for mechanical redistribution of part of

the national income for the benefit of the less developed countries, not even a zloty of which comes from colonial or neocolonial exploitation. We want, however, to cooperate with the Third World, taking into account the new practice of international cooperation. Independently, then, of the numerous proposals we had advanced in the past, for example, the proposal of a segmental division of labor--and here I resume the tenor begun in reply to the first question--we are attempting in our relations with the developing countries to direct this cooperation in such a way that it responds to their development needs.

I have discussed the complementarity of economies--we are employing it, but our aim is help and not consolidation of the principles of inequality in relations with the Third World. I have mentioned the issue of the education of cadres. We are attempting to contribute our input in solving this great problem and we are concerned about such education of national cadres which will assure the independence of the developing countries after a certain period of time.

9272-R
CSO: 2600

PROGRESS, PROBLEMS IN POLISH-FRG RELATIONS REVIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jun 78 p 8

[Article by R.W.]

[Text] Activity in favor of normalizing relations with the Federal Republic of Germany [FRG] is important not just for Polish foreign policy. We are conscious that, together with the FRG, we are shaping the contemporary history of Europe with the new nature of our relations. Both our states have offered a powerful stimulus to the possibility of calling and holding the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. For the treaty of December 1970 solved one of the most difficult questions of postwar Europe, the one most fraught with danger for European peace, which was the failure of the FRG to accept the decision of the Potsdam Agreement on the matter of the Polish western frontier along the Odra and Nysa. The recognition of this border, with all its related consequences, as well as the move to normalize our relationship from this starting point, was a prerequisite for the opening of the road to detente in Europe.

In this regard we have evaluated, and are evaluating, favorably the position of successive Social Democratic-Liberal governments since 1969, and especially those officials who with both heart and determination have involved, and are still involving, themselves in the establishment of an understanding with Poland. Taking into account the tragic past and historical burdens weighing down our nations, this is a great and noble task.

Starting in autumn 1972, i.e., from the establishment of full diplomatic relations, we have achieved more than would have been thought possible 6 years earlier. First of all, a dialog has been opened between our governments and among the leading personalities of both countries. Examples of this were the visits of Edward Gierek to the FRG and of Helmut Schmidt to Poland. Probably there is not a single ministry in either government which has not enjoyed contact with its counterpart on the Rhine or on the Vistula. The fruit of this is the steady process of rebuilding the infrastructure of understanding upon which the normal relations between two states should be based.

Economic cooperation has grown impressively in these years. We have, indeed, serious reservations on several aspects of this cooperation and we have voiced them forcefully, but that does not alter the fact that the steadily strengthening process of convergence of our mutual economic interests is an integral factor in the totality of normalization phenomena between our countries.

We also have to deal with a new phenomenon in relations between our nations, which is the steady broadening of the scope of normalization on the level of social contacts. The number of meetings between larger or smaller groups, discussions, "roundtables," journeyes of organizations for the purpose of mutual acquaintance, and also the "Polish Days" which have already been held in many FRG cities, and, conversely, the exhibitions of West German science, culture, and technology in Poland--is so large that it would be difficult indeed to calculate it. The human traffic between our countries already amounts to hundreds of thousands per year.

Hence, we have before us a major positive contribution which is not only of benefit to us but in a certain sense to Europe in general as well.

Simultaneously, however, we cannot overlook certain nonbeneficial, and sometimes even dangerous, trends which negatively influence the process of normalization, and even raise potential threats to it.

The problem is that a close interdependency exists between the level of legal and international relations and the level of social contacts. In our opinion, the most important historical significance of normalization is activity which promotes a change in the character of relations between our nations, and thus a change in mutual impressions about each other. Accordingly, we attach much weight to the fundamental establishment in West German society of a realistic view of reality, a definite abandonment of revisionist delusions and harmful hopes that the wheel of history will come full circle, that conditions existing as a result of World War II can be returned to the status quo ante.

Therefore, with undisguised concern we observe how in the Federal Republic of Germany a system of legal restraining barriers is steadily being built up and is certainly leading to the perversion of the guiding principles of normalization between our countries. Their point of departure is the acceptance, as the basis of reality in our relations, of the legal fiction about the supposedly immutable existence of the German Reich within its 1937 frontiers. It would be tempting to scoff at this, recalling the Anderson fairy tale about the king with no clothes, were it not that this fiction is creating material facts. Behold the first of many examples: The agreement on pensions, which was ratified with great difficulty, in Article XVI provided for the extension of pension services to those Polish citizens currently residing in Poland who prior to 1945 paid the necessary contributions into the funds of those German agencies dealing with social security and thereby purchased a right to its overage. Meanwhile, the Federal

Administrative Tribunal in Karlsruhe, ignoring the supremacy of international law, takes the position that this money cannot be transferred to Poland due to ... the unresolved problem of frontiers. Here is one of many outgrowths of the fiction of the existence of the German Reich with its 1937 borders. On the margin we should like to ask: What about the question of human rights, of those people for the most part already elderly, who are unable to comprehend why they cannot receive the money belonging to them?

While we are on the subject of human rights, let us mention, in the context of humanitarian activity, the reunion of families moving from Poland to the FRG, including those of mixed marriages. Meanwhile, the FRG authorities in practice make it impossible for one of the marriage partners to remain a Pole, forcing him with assorted pressures to adopt FRG citizenship. The same objections could be raised to the active status of the citizenship law of 22 July 1913--while Poland was still partitioned--that is valid to this day in the FRG, and is even appended to its constitution.

We could cite many examples testifying to the lack of desire to finally cut the umbilical cord joining the FRG with the irretrievable past of German imperialism east of the Odra and Nysa--and having a negative effect on the present and future. That is why we attach such moral and political weight to the implementation of the accepted recommendations of the commission studying school textbooks in both our countries. This involves not only strictly educational concerns, but also the very formation of the foundation for the process by which our nations can change their impressions of each other. In the attitude taken toward the practical realization of these recommendations we see the verification of the true moral and political intentions toward Poland.

We write of this with the thought that the functioning of a dialog between Warsaw and Bonn can, from the European point of view, grow in significance at the very moment that the sky over the international situation is beginning to cloud up. It is our duty to intensify efforts to advance detente. Polish opinion greeted with approval those statements of Chancellor Schmidt in which he spoke of the logic of detente, mentioning in this connection the recent conversations with Leonid Brezhnev in Bonn.

At the same time, though, there are potent forces in the FRG striving for power which question the sense of detente and openly proclaim their desire to reverse the results of the lost war. In this regard, the increasingly frequent appearance of government representatives in tandem with leaders of nationalist forces at rallies and demonstrations of the revisionist organizations can only arouse more and more saddened reflections.

We want all those in Bonn and the entire Federal Republic who speak out for peace, detente, and construction cooperation to know that they can count on us. But simultaneously let them realistically look about them. Those opposed to the development of an understanding with Poland are also the opponents of those who advocate reason and democracy in the FRG.

POLAND

AIRFIELD RUNWAYS VIEWED AS OUTDATED, DAMAGING

Warsaw WOJSKOWY PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 3, Mar 78 pp 32—33

/Article by Col Ryszard Filar (Reserve), M.S. (Eng) and Capt Ryszard Skomski, M.Sc. (Eng): "New Aircraft and Airfield Runways"/

/Text/ In the late forties and early fifties, during the period of intensive construction and enlargement of military airfields after the introduction of turbojet aircraft into the inventory of air force units, the commonly used material for construction of runways was ordinary cement concrete. At first it was thought that concrete surfaces fully satisfy the needs of jet aircraft. In the late fifties, however, after the first supersonic aircraft appeared, it turned out that concrete surfaces which were expected to last 20 to 30 years began to show signs of premature deterioration. This deterioration appeared primarily in the top layer. It consisted of scalings of various sizes whose depth ranged from a few millimeters to a few centimeters. At first, serious attention was not paid to this phenomenon because it was relatively infrequent and the damage could be repaired during routine runway renovation and maintenance performed by the airbase service commands. With the passage of time and as the number of supersonic aircraft systematically increased in air regiments these phenomena began to assume disquieting proportions. In an effort to prevent further damage to concrete surfaces and in order to increase the load carrying capacity of runways, a start was made to cover runways with a layer of asphalt concrete (hereafter called asphalt). It turned out, however, that neither concrete nor asphalt was sufficiently resistant. The fast progressing process of destruction forced a search for the causes of the reoccurring phenomenon.

An aircraft moving on the runway transmits to the surface not only a static load but also mechanical and acoustical vibrations. The progressively higher propelling forces of newly introduced aircraft cause a significant increase of acoustical effect due to the turbulence directly related to the velocity of the flow of disturbed medium, that is of the air surrounding the aircraft. The absorption by the surface of dynamic loads produced by the aircraft is of an undulating character. The action of acoustic waves hitting the runway is highly damaging because it causes resilient deformations of the surface

volume and shape. The volume strain is due to the compressive and tensile stress propagated as longitudinal waves in the solid medium of the runway surface. The non-dilatational strain is related to the unexpected shear stresses which are even more damaging because they are caused by transverse waves propagated perpendicularly to the vibrations of particles of the medium. This phenomenon perhaps can explain the separation of layers of the runway surfaces, the surface scalings and the loosening of rebuilt surfaces where there is no technological homogeneity across the runway.

An analytical description of these interactions is difficult mainly because of non-linearity of correlations occurring there and because there are several factors causing these phenomena such as the friction resulting from the aircraft landing and braking which produces additional sources of strain, vibrations and acoustic effects. The thermic effect of combustion gases emitted by aircraft exhausts also has serious impact on the fatigue of the top layer of runway surfaces. In response to high temperatures strong thermal stresses appear and tear up the rapidly expanded top layer.

The methods used to date for calculating and designing runway surfaces consider only the static and dynamic loads exerted by the aircraft on the runway and do not consider vibrations, acoustic waves and high temperatures. The impact of the latter factors is still not sufficiently known and thus they are not reflected in the theory of runway design.

An airfield at which in 1971 the length of the runway was extended provides an example of how the use of a runway by aircraft produces destructive effects. The condition of the existing runway was so good at that time that it was decided that a major renovation would be purposeless. However, after only a few months of use by the new aircraft, the concrete which had withstood 16 years of use began to deteriorate rapidly and it was necessary to apply a layer of asphalt on the runway the next year.

Another striking example of the destruction of runway surfaces by the new aircraft is provided by another airfield where the runways, built of very good and durable concrete 40 cm thick, began to show the first signs of deterioration after the introduction of the new types of aircraft. Consequently, in order to continue using the airfield it was necessary to reinforce the center strip (which was the most heavily used) with synthetic resins.

The harmful effects on the runways resulting from their use by aircraft can also be felt indirectly. The runways used by aircraft, especially the so-called fast aircraft, must be free of all precipitation and atmospheric deposits and primarily of icing and glazed frost which may cause the lack of sufficient adhesiveness between the aircraft wheels and the surface. This is very important for flight safety since inadequate adhesiveness between the wheels and the runway surface can cause the aircraft to require a too long runway or to lose direction on landing. For many years, chemical agents have been used against icing, mostly calcium chloride which, as was proven by tests, accelerates the scaling of the top layer of concrete. The

use of this agent is limited to the necessary minimum and, to the extent possible, industrial urea is used as a substitute as it is much less harmful for the runway surface. However, the use of calcium chloride cannot be foregone especially when the ambient temperature drops below -9°C at which point industrial urea ceases to be effective. Fuel and lubricants are also harmful to the runway surface. There are known examples that leaking aircraft fuel was the cause of complete disintegration of asphalt surfaces at aircraft parking areas.

The durability of runway surfaces is also influenced by climatic factors. Their effects are fairly well known but for technical and economic reasons they are not fully considered in the designing and construction of runways. Among the most harmful climatic factors are temperature fluctuations and especially repeated freezing and thawing of water particles in the surface pores and cracks. The effect is that the surface top layer disintegrates. The more intensively a runway is used, the sooner the runway surface top layer weakened by ice particles becomes detached from the monolith.

Also harmful to the surface are the ground vehicle and industrial exhaust gases which contain carbon dioxide and nitric and sulphur oxides. These compounds are found in raindrops and produce electrolytic solutions which accelerate surface corrosion.

Another serious problem of airfield utilization is the impact of runway condition on the aircraft engine life expectancy. The turbojet engines of modern military aircraft have low slung propelling assemblies and, while operating, draw from the atmosphere large quantities of air flowing at great speed. With the air stream, fragments of surface material, grains of sand, stones and other foreign bodies get inside the engine outlet diffuser. Small impurities consisting of surface material sucked in by the engine can cause damage to the rotor blades and the steering mechanism blades. Larger substances can cause breakage of blades, thus requiring replacement of the engine.

For instance, in 1976 it was necessary in the air force of the armed forces to replace 56 engines whose turbine blades were damaged by foreign bodies sucked in from the runway surfaces.

Keeping the surfaces clean is one of the most important problems in the utilization of runways. On the vehicular roads fragments of surface material, grains of sand and other impurities constitute no threat to the life of combustion engines. For reasons of flight safety the runway surfaces must have load bearing capacity corresponding to the loads resulting from weight of aircraft and high tire pressure; they must be resistant to high temperatures, acoustic waves, vibrations and effects of climatic factors; and they must be sufficiently coarse to obtain proper adhesiveness for the wheels, even, hard, resistant to wear and clean, i.e. free from all foreign bodies, atmospheric precipitation and deposits.

Because of special utilization, runways require different treatment than vehicular roads. But, in accordance with the standards now in force which define the requirements and tests for the surface material and runway construction, runways are treated in the same way as vehicular roads. Also, no specifications have been set for building new runways or improving the existing ones which would define the standards for the material used, construction methods, maintenance, etc. The current situation in the area of construction is as follows: a qualitative jump has taken place in the development of aviation--the aircraft has broken the sonic barrier, but the runway surfaces do not have the proper resistance to the effects of aircraft operations. The runways used by the aircraft in the current inventory and by the aircraft of the next generation will satisfy the requirements if research will be conducted which will precisely determine all the loads and will investigate the impact of aircraft operation on the runways and if the research results will be applied to runway design and construction. The top layers of runways must be made of new materials because the experience to date indicates that further improvements of concrete and asphalt are rather pointless. It is just as important to develop design and construction standards which would consider the special features of utilization.

8801

CSO: 2600

YUGOSLAVIA

TERRITORIAL DEFENSE CHIEFS INTERVIEWED

Croatia's General Jukic

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 4 May 78 p 9

[Interview with Lt Col Gen Augustin Jukic, commander of the Territorial Defense Staff of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, by Advan Hozic, NARODNA ARMIJA editor: "All Our Successes Are the Achievement of the Working People and Citizens"]

[Text] Question: First, please tell us something about the results of Croatia's territorial defense on the eve of the 11th LCY Congress?

Answer: The results are very good. Thanks to the effort of all public entities and territorial defense staffs the planned level has been attained both with respect to the mobile structure and also the positional structure.

The fact that Croatia includes a major portion of the Adriatic coast and a major portion of the water area introduces specific features which have an impact on the organization and military structure of territorial defense units on the islands and in the coastal zone. For that reason units have been formed for surface operations such as flotillas, detachments and groups of armed vessels, and then units for underwater operations: groups and detachments of light divers and mine scouts, as well as mine observation stations.

In addition to these two branches--ground forces and naval units--we have also undertaken to form a third branch, i.e., air forces and certain air defense units. We have worked all of this out from the organizational and practical standpoint. There is no question that the results achieved are very good, but we must go further, which is both a need and a possibility.

Question: These results are entirely the fruit of the aggregate efforts of society?

Answer: Exactly, and I would like to emphasize that it would not be possible to achieve results of this kind in developing and strengthening territorial defense without a high degree of awareness, responsibility, material

support and detailed work by our working people and citizens as a whole; without the responsibility and full commitment of organizations of associated labor, local communities, sociopolitical communities and sociopolitical organizations; without the self-sacrificing work of territorial defense members under the direct leadership and influence of the League of Communists. A very great deal has been done and achieved in the last few years in Croatia in the broad area of socialization, development and strengthening of social self-protection and nationwide defense in all the basic cells of society.

Increasingly Good Training

Question: Let me ask you, Comrade General: How satisfied are you with the training staffs, commands and units?

Answer: There is no reason why we should not all be satisfied. Year after year the quality of training has been rising, but our requirements are also rising and becoming greater. If, say, yesterday we were tolerant in some area, then this year we will not be, since we feel that we are better organized, better drilled, more resourceful, more capable, and even the content aspect of training is steadily improving. It is important that the ever higher requirements are understood and accepted by personnel in the staffs, commands and units, that they view them in the same way and try to achieve more. This can be seen in exercises. People make an effort, they take their missions most seriously, they do not spare themselves when they are strained to the limit, when they have to give their all.

Question: Excuse me, but are there also those to whom that does not apply?

Answer: When it comes to staffs and commands of units, then there are those who have not been adequately trained. This gives rise to certain shortcomings in training of which we are well aware. For example, in some places there are shortcomings in rear support during combat operations. Some people do this in the peacetime manner rather than the way we will operate in wartime and the way it must be done. Then in some places we encounter an inadequate realization of the situation, the adversary's actions are not monitored, reactions are sluggish, people wait for decisions from their superiors. I should also mention that the units in the positional defense structure, which are the most numerous, have in some places still not found their proper place and role during the conduct of combat operations. But all of this, and other things as well have more to do with knowledge than willingness. That is why we are engaged in training, so that people will learn.

Question: Recently, Comrade General, a conference was held with commanding officers of territorial defense staffs and units of Croatia and you issued specific assignments for this coming period. What was put at the head of the list?

Answer: In our judgment the level of development of territorial defense that has been achieved makes it imperative that we put the greatest emphasis on continued efforts to improve the combat capability of staffs and commands of territorial defense [TD] units. We are paying particular attention to building up the command system, since this armed structure that has grown up in our self-managed society should be competently directed under all conditions and in the best possible way. Better organized, more intensive and constantly improved training of staffs and commands for their peacetime and wartime tasks has particular priority in the overall area of training and indoctrination; this must be the case today, and it will also be so in the future. Then there are the training and drilling of territorial defense units in both the mobile and positional structures. In recent years we have achieved significant results in this respect as well; those results convincingly show that we have good units which are capable and mobile enough to carry out the missions which war would impose on them. It is evidence of this level of quality that a few years ago we conducted exercises only with companies and platoons, while now we are conducting them more and more with large tactical units and under conditions of combat operations which are highly complicated. We are striving to resolutely overcome every form of training, regardless of its form, whose quality is not high enough.

Question: Can the existing peacetime, zonal and opstina staffs have a more substantial impact on that level of quality?

Answer: In peacetime territorial defense staffs have definite limits on their realistic capabilities. With respect to training we rely to a maximum, wherever possible, on YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] commands and units, and in that respect we have no problems whatsoever. However, it will not be possible to carry out the training of staffs, commands and officers we mentioned without full, comprehensive and intensive commitment on the part of wartime commands and also organizations of the League of Communists in territorial defense. Even were that possible, it would not be the right thing, since in a case of aggression there is no one else to mobilize territorial defense units and take them into combat except their commands and officers, the organizations and the leadership bodies of the League of Communists in territorial defense. The responsibility of all wartime commands and leadership bodies of the League of Communists, of officers and of party members in territorial defense is therefore great and irreplaceable.

More Young People in the Leadership

In this context I would like to emphasize that the morale and political climate in all staffs, commands and units are very good, and much has also been done with respect to developing security and self-protection. Taken as a whole, we have every prerequisite for achieving still better results: for that we have the pledge and abundant activity of sociopolitical communities, organizations of associated labor, national defense councils and other entities which together with territorial defense staffs are involved in organizing territorial defense units and nationwide defense as a whole.

Question: I have noted, Comrade General, that there are quite a few young people in responsible positions in territorial defense in Croatia.

Answer: There will be even more of them. This is an ongoing process. Bringing in more young people and the selection and assignment of reserve military officers in general are always relevant matters, particularly in the case of the most responsible positions. Right at this time we have favorable opportunities to be bolder in bringing along young, responsible and competent reserve military officers as well as sociopolitical personnel, party members, to take responsible positions in territorial defense. In this respect we are not hindered at all by military ranks, especially since special insignia will soon be introduced for positions in territorial defense units.

It is our assumption that now is the time to be bolder in bringing in young people. The older and more experienced comrades can stay on as instructors and advisers in staffs and commands, but it is a good thing for the younger people to take over the burden of the responsibility. In this process it is most important that the wartime commands and committees of the League of Communists be more directly involved in the selection and nomination of officers for higher positions in their commands and units.

Question: At the conference I mentioned you spoke about preparing the cities for combat and resistance under present-day conditions, and I would like to ask you to tell us what that is about?

Answer: I think that all of us, all structures and entities in our society, are faced with this problem, or, to put it another way, this very complex and large task from the standpoint of social self-protection and nationwide defense and of territorial defense specifically. In this stage of our development, now that we are organized and have made sound preparations, now that we have strong units and the full support of the working people and citizens, we should examine more thoroughly the preparedness of our cities for combat and resistance under contemporary conditions.

Resistance in the Cities

In this respect only the initial steps have seemingly been taken, but considerably more must be done so that the full importance of this question is realized. Now, it is sufficient to recall the well-known statistic that half of our population is now living in large urban agglomerations. This tells us a great deal, but it also makes it incumbent that we study that fact and this problem from every aspect and in all their dimensions. I would not say that in the past we have altogether neglected this, but from the standpoint of the interests of our entire society it ought to be near the top of the list of priority tasks.

Question: This is not a problem, if I am correct, in Croatia alone?

Answer: This, of course, is a problem of nationwide defense of all cities throughout Yugoslavia, and it is not a problem that can be resolved by territorial defense staffs alone, but there must be a commitment on the part of all self-management structures in view of the extensiveness and significance of this task. I am convinced that this will no longer be such a great problem within a short period of time.

Question: Is it possible that some solution in this respect might come "from below"?

Answer: The most valuable attributes of socializing nationwide defense lie precisely in the fact that in this way the workingman and citizen are directly involved in the affairs and tasks of social self-protection and defense preparations and find this in their personal interest. Experience has already given us abundant evidence of this. There are many examples of very useful suggestions which the working people and citizens have made to resolve various problems in the area of preparations. This also occurs in local communities and in organizations of associated labor. Consequently, we can expect that with regard to preparations for defense in cities, urban local communities, streets and organizations of associated labor located in large urban agglomerations, and so on--as soon as this is on the agenda--there will be quite a few initiatives which will help in finding the right solutions.

Question: In other words, the base of society is already having an impact?

Answer: It is, and that impact is both effective and vigorous. It is the result of broad and up-to-date ideological and political activity. Members of territorial defense units, above all members of the League of Communists and officers, have been involved in all this, not only within the framework of territorial defense, but on a much broader front. Experiences to date will be further elaborated and expanded, especially concerning young men and women, regardless of whether they are involved in territorial defense or not. We can no longer stay in one place with respect to socialization of defense, even if we wished to, since social self-protection and nationwide defense are to a large degree built into our development on the basis of socialist self-management, and in the process of that development, which will receive new thrusts at the 11th LCY Congress, we can only go further and, of course, become still stronger.

Kosovo's General Recica

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 11 May 78 p 6

[Interview with Maj Gen Ethem Recica, commander of the Territorial Defense Staff of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, by Advan Hozic, NARODNA ARMIJA editor: "Unity--The Foundation of Defense"]

[Text] Question: Comrade General, a conference on training and indoctrination in territorial defense [TD] units of the Socialist Autonomous Province

of Kosovo was recently held in Pristina. What results were particularly pointed up?

Answer: This was one of our regular conferences. For example, we had a similar conference last year as well. At that time we also went into the problems of training and indoctrination. This time we found that in the interval a big step forward had been taken, though the conference looked critically on work, achievements, the efforts made, and so on. These results are also related to the general sociopolitical climate in the province, especially since the 10th LCY Congress, to the celebration of Comrade Tito's anniversary, to the full awareness of the need for nationwide defense and social self-protection on the part of all sociopolitical factors in the province and opstinas, and also to maximum commitment of the officers of staffs and commands of TD units, and to the deep awareness that training is the most important element in combat readiness.

For 2 years now Kosovo has been achieving very important results in development of territorial defense, especially in training commands and units, and this is the judgment both of the province's leadership and also of the people. We have numerous and strong units, especially mobile units, which in their morale and political unity, level of training, equipment and all other attributes represent a tremendous force capable of carrying out even the most difficult wartime missions. Last year we were visited by the Main National Defense Inspectorate. The level of training and general state of national defense affairs received very good marks, and the conclusion was that "important results have been achieved."

Question: Please tell us something more about those results?

Answer: Last year we involved in exercises more than 90 percent of the entire strength of the units of positional forces, and this year we will complete the cycle of training with mobile TD units in 3 years rather than 4. Great efforts have been made. It is true that in some places we do have weak points, there are shortcomings in the methods of conducting training, there are officers who need more help, there is both inexperience and superficiality in the organization of certain elements of training, but the average mark for the level of training of all our TD units last year was 3.50, and the criteria are well known.

The training of staffs, commands and officers has been particularly intensive. We have had many courses, seminars, methods-demonstration exercises, mobilization-tactical exercises, staff drills, group workshops, tours by commanders, staff and command-staff war games, and, most of all, exercises to evaluate combat preparedness which have involved 80 percent of the officers in territorial defense.

Training in the Field

Training has also been conducted intensively with units of the arms and services. We have been paying particular attention to the training of

special units. The emphasis of this training has always been on tactical exercises, which comprises 70 percent of training. We should also mention target practice by all participants in the exercises, and the average score has been very good.

Question: May I ask where the training is done?

Answer: We conduct training exclusively in the field, but we also have two instruction centers to meet the needs of all nationwide defense structures, but primarily for training officers in certain specialties. We also have very good cooperation with YPA commands and units, and it is improving constantly. We also have very valuable aid from the Secretariat for National Defense in opstinas and sociopolitical communities and organizations, since we do not have a single exercise, even at the level of the company, in which the most responsible sociopolitical people in the opstinas are not involved. National defense councils of opstinas and other entities are always actual participants in all preparations for exercises. Usually our exercises have also involved other nationwide defense structures, local communities and organizations of associated labor, just the way it would be in wartime. For instance, we had an exercise in the opstina Kosovska Kamenica in which almost all the working people and citizens participated in various missions. This was really a true review of people's attitude toward defense and a picture of our defense "hedgehog" which Comrade Tito has talked about.

Question: Comrade General, you have been present at most of these exercises, and I would like you to tell us your impression of how these results are being achieved.

Answer: I would first say that here in the provincial staff we have evaluated the quality of training in each particular opstina. According to the regulations which apply also to the YPA, we gave a score of excellent for the training of units to opstina TD staffs in Vitina, Priština, Vucitrn and Kosovska Mitrovica, while the opstina TD staff in Vucitrn has an overall excellent grade in training.

As for my personal impressions, I must say that there are many of them, since in their efforts, commitment, awareness and responsibility people offer countless examples worthy of attention. Recently, for example, we were holding training sessions in the opstina Suva Reka, and none of the members of the unit, which was not small, asked to be paid time lost, though they were entitled to compensation. Most of them were workers and farmers. It is rare for a reserve officer to ask for compensation, particularly when exercises are conducted on days off.

Question: The role of party members is undoubtedly very significant in shaping this kind of morale and political climate?

Answer: The activity of party members cannot be replaced. In all TD units we have organized LCY caucuses and leadership bodies which are active now

in peacetime, particularly in exercises. Party members represent 23 percent of the total membership of TD units in Kosovo. This is an indication of the quality of the units and of their strength and unity. The leadership bodies of the LCY in wartime TD units have their work plans, they meet on an occasional basis, they are constantly in contact with opstina staffs, and they make a large contribution to resolving various problems. In some opstinas such as Gnjilane, Prizren and Vucitrn, LCY caucuses of basic TD units have even had meetings without exercises.

Concern About Personnel

In any case all LCY leadership bodies in TD units have been elected with full consent of personnel commissions of opstina LCY committees, and the Executive Committee of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo has also been involved in choosing key party and political personnel in TD units. This is in any case the result of society's general concern that national defense be an integral part of it.

Question: Now that you have mentioned personnel, Comrade General, please give us your judgment as to how matters stand in this area.

Answer: Since the 10th LCY Congress and adoption of the new constitution new conceptions have arisen in all sociopolitical communities and organizations concerning responsibility for the affairs of nationwide defense and social self-protection and particularly concerning the importance of personnel policy in these areas of public activity. More precisely, these conceptions did exist even before, but they have become stronger and more meaningful. The Presidency of the Province and the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists, national defense councils and all other factors made tremendous efforts to mobilize all the social forces in shaping the tasks of national defense and social self-protection, so that today there is no assembly which does not mention the tasks of nationwide defense in a very responsible way, which is unquestionable proof that these tasks have become interwoven in all pores of our society. In meetings of various forums of sociopolitical communities you sometimes get the impression that these are military staffs, since they debate armed combat, forms of resistance, and the organization, development and training of the public and armed forces with such maturity, responsibility and familiarity with the problems. The role of the League of Communists is particularly important here, not only as the ideological vehicle of the conception, but in some cases even as the actual mobilizer of people to carry out particular tasks. That is why there is an ever-present concern about personnel in national defense. The contribution of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense is also immeasurable in supplying personnel in Kosovo. Now, for example, we have a rather good flow of manpower from reserve officers schools. The selection for those schools makes it possible for us to obtain a large number of educated young people. The province now has more than 30,000 students with good moral and political attributes.

Question: At the conference we mentioned I noticed that the comrades spoke in both Serbo-Croatian and Albanian and that there were no sort of difficulties here. Please tell us if any sort of difficulties have arisen in command?

Answer: Command in TD units in Kosovo is mainly in Serbo-Croatian, but there are also units in which command is in Albanian, depending on the composition of the personnel. Certain difficulties do arise because we do not have rules in the Albanian language, but thanks to the Federal Secretariat for National Defense we are already on the way to resolving that problem.

Complete Equality

Some textbooks have been translated, and we are now selecting the most important regulations for translation so as to make them accessible to a larger number of soldiers and officers. This also has political significance with respect to the complete equality of nationalities and ethnic minorities in our country, and in this respect we must do everything necessary to completely resolve this issue, insofar as we are able, since it is a question that is frequently raised by national defense staffs and councils in the opstinas.

Question: What would you emphasize, Comrade General, in the conclusion of this interview?

Answer: In view of the time and space which we have available, I think that emphasis should be put on efforts being made to socialize nationwide defense and social self-protection. These are no longer matters which are the exclusive concern of professionals, but have become an integral part of the system of self-management and everyone's permanent concern. We have achieved very important results in both work organizations and local communities, though we are convinced that we will soon achieve still greater results than in the past, since this is possible. We have, for example, local communities where people like to work and want to work, where they say "we will do everything necessary," but their capabilities are modest, and they need quite a bit of help in coping with all their tasks. We have held many conferences and seminars for those structures and have gained valuable experiences, and in future we will do more in this respect. The League of Communists has also taken measures to inform the working people and citizens concerning the level of defensive preparations, problems and tasks concerning nationwide defense and social self-protection, and so on. People are providing the funds, and they are not small, they are taking bread out of their own mouths, and they need to know whether those funds are being used optimally and what sort of results are being achieved.

Nationwide defense is having a unifying effect, is bringing the nationalities and ethnic minorities of this region closer together, and is shaping a consciousness of interrelatedness, of community, of the idea that survival depends on brotherhood and unity and that they represent the greatest force

in our defense and the greatest promise for the future progress of our society. Comrade Tito always emphasizes that "there is no force which can defeat a united people," and I want to say that not in a single exercise, never have we had a single case, even the smallest, along the lines of ethnic differences, and I think this speaks most eloquently about the kind of relations these are and about the unity of our people in accepting and carrying out their tasks in the domain of defense and self-protection.

I would also like to say that all our efforts are directed toward achieving maximum results in performance of the tasks which our society and the League of Communists have assigned us before the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is held. What we have achieved to date is only the sound foundation for still more rapid and effective progress, and it is well known that the 11th LCY Congress will seek that of all of us.

Macedonia's General Causev

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 18 May 78 p 13

[Interview with Lt Col Gen Boro Causev, commander of the Territorial Defense Staff of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, by Advan Hozic, NARODNA ARMIJA editor: "Increasingly Better Organized and Stronger"]

[Text] Question: Comrade General, the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Macedonia was held a few days ago, and the 11th LCY Congress is before us. How do you, as a commander and as a sociopolitical figure, evaluate achievements in development of nationwide defense in Macedonia?

Answer: We have a great deal and we are increasingly better organized and stronger. Everything we have achieved so far in development of nationwide defense and social self-protection is a full expression of the strength and vitality of our self-managed socialist society. As the social forces grow, we have more and we will be still stronger. A document has just been adopted at the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Macedonia, an action program for the coming period which relates to nationwide defense among other things; it will provide a new impetus for progress in this domain of public activities.

The decisions of the 10th LCY Congress and Sixth Congress of the League of Communists of Macedonia had paramount importance for us concerning development of nationwide defense and territorial defense in particular. Defense has taken on all the social dimensions and has become the most direct and authentic expression of the interests of the working people and citizens, in which the League of Communists, of course, has a special role. However, I am convinced that we can do much more, especially in the base of society, in local communities and basic organizations of associated labor since our organization starts precisely there, at the base. In the last 2 years more than 4,000 meetings have been held in various self-management entities in Macedonia to debate issues important to the organization and development of

nationwide defense and social self-protection. I think this is an eloquent indicator of the extent to which defense affairs have been socialized and what great opportunities exist in this respect.

All Citizens Are Concerned With Defense Affairs

Question: When it comes to socializing defense affairs, where will the emphasis be put in future activity?

Answer: The process of socialization should continue to stimulate and create new and broader opportunities for all citizens to be more directly concerned with the problems of defense and social self-protection, that is, to participate more than up to now on debates on particular issues such as, for example, the attitude toward training, exercises, preparation of the terrain, preservation of equipment, etc. Why should there not be a debate in the local community or basic organization of associated labor, for example, of how successful the exercise of their territorial defense unit or civil defense unit has been, what was good and what was not, what should be praised, what should be criticized, and many other things. We are also trying to give the problems of defense a greater presence in the delegate system as well, since defense is an integral part of our social development on the basis of self-management.

I would particularly like to emphasize that the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, the Macedonian Assembly, the Executive Council of the Assembly, and other entities have been exerting a constant and vigorous pressure for us to go further and achieve more in defensive preparations and in the socialization of defense tasks. We have resolved the issues of financing territorial defense by adopting social compacts and self-management accords. This gives us security in planning the tasks and activities of territorial defense staffs, commands and units. Moreover, it has become established practice with us for the most outstanding sociopolitical figures in the republic and in opstinas, particularly the young people, to take a direct part in territorial defense, they have wartime functions in staffs, they participate in planning and conducting training, they take part in exercises, and so on. This makes it possible for us to coordinate all aspects of armed combat and other forms of resistance right now in peacetime and to organize all entities comprising nationwide defense around these tasks.

Question: Now I would like to ask you as a party official to tell us something about the activity and level of organization of party members in territorial defense units in Macedonia.

Answer: Party members have been highly organized and very committed in setting the tone and imparting content to all the results achieved so far in development of territorial defense in Macedonia. At present more than 20 percent of the men in our units are members of the League of Communists. This is a great ideological and political force. However, it is particularly significant that people's attitudes toward defense tasks, the effort

they apply in training and exercises, are evaluated and borne in mind when people are being enrolled in the League of Communists, particularly when it is a question of those who hold positions as officers.

The Plan for 1980 Has Been Achieved With Respect to the Level of Organization of Territorial Defense

The League of Communists has also had a substantial impact on resolution of personnel problems in territorial defense. In all units and staffs we have caucuses of the League of Communists, and we also have leadership bodies of the League of Communists which join opstina committees of the League of Communists in examining particular tasks and issues, above all ideological and political indoctrination and morale and the political climate of units, which are always most directly bound up with the general political climate in a particular area. I might say incidentally that this climate is very good throughout Macedonia, as indicated by the datum that in the recent election of delegates and delegations there was a turnout of 94 percent of the registered voters, which is more than ever before. I think this is an altogether solid indicator of the attitude which our working people and citizens have toward the system of self-management and its development, and this, of course, also represents their attitude toward defense, which is an expression of tremendous confidence in the League of Communists, headed by Comrade Tito.

Question: You have already mentioned the training of units and officers. What have been the most important results in this respect?

Answer: I think that I can say that we have achieved the level of organization in territorial defense which was planned for 1980. Territorial defense now has an organized and very dynamic life encompassing an abundance of activities, which means that officers and staffs must constantly improve their competence more and more. In the present phase of our organization training is one of the strategic questions of our preparations for armed combat and therefore we are devoting the greatest attention to this training. We assume that not a single exercise can be conducted without first giving the officers appropriate preparation, and we are simply allergic to any sort of improvisation in this respect. The preparedness of officers has a very constructive effect on the entire unit, on discipline, responsibility and organization, and the officer himself gains confidence and respect, so that preparation is one of the basic preconditions for successful performance of missions assigned during the training of units.

This preparation and training of officers has diverse forms. Some officers we send to YPA service-school centers, and we also have our educational center in which officers of our territorial units refresh their knowledge or gain new knowledge in courses lasting between 7 and 20 days. A majority of our opstina staff and the commands of the larger units have gone through such courses. We are planning to build another educational center soon to train officers of the basic units. At present we also have a satisfactory

selection of candidates for reserve officers school, and consequently we have resolved many personnel problems.

Question: Please tell us something about the basic characteristics of the training of units.

Answer: We are striving to train units under the approximate conditions and on the terrain where they would wage war. We are paying the greatest attention to familiarizing them with their arms, with target practice and with drills in tactical procedures. Last year all territorial defense units, every single one, had exercises to check their readiness for mobilization and for combat, which were very successful.

Together with the Executive Council of the Macedonian Assembly we worked out a concept for organizing joint exercises, and we have, for instance, in five opstinas had complete exercises in which all national defense and social self-protection components participated, including, of course, sociopolitical organizations, etc. We learned that joint exercises of this kind should be prepared very thoroughly and that all those bearing responsibility for the activity of the components participating should be included in all the preparations, in all phases from the beginning of planning. We think that in future we will pay still greater attention to such forms of training, since this produces in the most direct way many important realizations with respect to coordination and synchronized activity of the various components under wartime conditions, and then about the values of training and the preparations that have been made, about the place and role of the sociopolitical organizations, and so on. In two of the five opstinas I mentioned there were mobilization-tactical exercises conducted from the moment of surprise, i.e., commencing with an alarm, and they yielded good results and valuable experience. Exercises of that kind have special importance to us.

Main Directions in Future Development of Territorial Defense

Question: Can you tell us, Comrade General, something about the main directions in future development of territorial defense in Macedonia?

Answer: There are several such directions, but all of them go together to make us still better organized and better prepared for our tasks. The training of officers, staffs, commands and units, as I have said, is in the foreground. But it is also important to us to continue to satisfy some of the material needs of territorial defense. Here I am referring above all to augmentation of firepower, to updating arms and equipment, since we must never stand still in that respect. Our units are well armed, but we still must keep pace with the advent of increasingly modern equipment and weapons. And then, although we have very good and comprehensive cooperation with YPA commands, institutions and units, we can and should go still farther in this respect, and coordinate our plans and exercises still more fully, use the infrastructure of the regular armed forces for training, and so on, and

the atmosphere is such as to stimulate these mutual relations and activities.

I would also say that in the coming period we must devote greater attention to cooperation among opstina staffs, since in our judgment not as much has been done here as should have been. Some opstina staffs have achieved fine results in this respect, and they are even carrying on good cooperation with neighboring opstina staffs in Serbia and Kosovo, exchanging experience, concluding agreements, coordinating certain of their plans, and this cooperation in some places even covers a broad range of subject matter, since even commanders of basic units or from neighboring local communities are meeting and jointly taking up everything that has a bearing on defense, preparations and organization and is relevant to discussion and agreement. This has great value, and in this respect we can do a great deal more, since we must rely on one another, and in wartime this would have paramount importance.

In the coming period we will also make new efforts in educating and training personnel. We now have some 20 scholarship students majoring in national defense, and some are on scholarships from opstinas. Then we have given all officers in territorial defense units subscriptions to VOJNI GLASNIK [MILITARY HERALD], which is published in Macedonia, the journal ODBRANA I ZASTITA [DEFENSE AND PROTECTION], and so on.

We now confront a very major task of exerting a continued impact toward better and better organization at the base, in local communities, of examining all defense measures being taken there, of assuming responsibility there for the training of the population, for people's involvement in preparation of the terrain and in all matters which have value to defense. This also applies to units in enterprises which would defend their own work organizations, but would perform other tasks as well. It is our lasting commitment to make as many men, women and young people as possible competent to wage armed combat, but also to make territorial defense such as a well-organized armed force of society that it can also commit itself in a case of natural disaster or other difficult situation. This is indeed an obligation.

Finally, we are faced with the task of working constantly in the field of political ideology, of raising consciousness and of strengthening the moral and political unity of all components of nationwide defense.

Slovenia's General Jerkic

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 78 p 16

[Interview with Lt Col Gen Branko Jerkic, commander of the Territorial Defense Staff of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, by Advan Hozic, NARODNA ARMIJA editor: "Territorial Defense--The Most Massive Echelon"]

[Text] Question: At the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia, which recently concluded, Comrade General, you briefly evaluated

the development of territorial defense in Slovenia up to this time. What are the basic characteristics of that development?

Answer: The period between the Seventh and Eighth Congresses of the League of Communists of Slovenia is characterized by very intensive activities on the part of all participants involved in nationwide defense. All of these activities of the working people in exercising their rights and discharging their duties concerning defense are above all the result of the ideological-political orientation and the linkage between the development of nationwide defense and the development of our society's self-management transformation. Within the total context of the activities of nationwide defense territorial defense has been developing with particular speed as an integral part of the unified armed forces of Yugoslavia.

Over the last 4 years territorial defense has developed into a massive armed force which together with the YPA and other nationwide defense components is prepared to defend the country and stands as a pledge of its security and self-management development. In that period, if we go back, numerous important regulations and documents were enacted (the constitution, the Law on National Defense, the documents of the 10th LCY Congress, and so on) which defined the place and role of TD. Moreover, in an agreement among the republics and provinces and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense we took general positions with respect to the future development of TD. We have accordingly undertaken a very radical adaptation of TD to the self-management base. In this way we have obtained TD units in local communities, organizations of associated labor and opstinas. Some of the units have become associated with larger formations, which represents a higher level of organization of TD.

Question: Now that you have mentioned adaptation of TD to the self-management base of our society, Comrade General, would you please elaborate a little more broadly?

Answer: It is well known that in the previous period TD was not organized in a way that was appropriate to the organization of sociopolitical communities--neither in our republic nor in the other republics and provinces. That is, we did not have territorial defense staffs in opstinas and local communities, and the influence at the base was fairly weak. Our task, then, was to set up territorial defense staffs everywhere where there were sociopolitical communities. In that way we obtained more opstina TD staffs, and after enactment of the Slovenian Law on National Defense we began setting up TD staffs in local communities. The creation of these staffs has contributed quite a bit to speeding up the socialization of defense preparations in the base. The staffs in local communities take a shape based on their evaluations and needs, but they have justified their existence in the activities conducted to date.

Concern About Personnel

Particular progress has been made in socializing territorial defense, as we see it, by strengthening the horizontal linkage and responsibility of TD staffs with sociopolitical communities, above all at the level of the opstina and local community. This strengthens the responsibility of opstinas and local communities for nationwide defense, and territorial defense is becoming more and more an integral part of nationwide resistance over which sociopolitical factors exercise jurisdiction and for which they assume responsibility.

Question: So we might say, Comrade General, that there are now TD units all over Slovenia, that the units guarantee performance of their basic tasks and that almost all sociopolitical communities have their place in defense?

Answer: Yes, the present organizational structure of TD units guarantees coverage and control of the entire territory of Slovenia. Moreover, strong combined-arms formations are capable of carrying out certain operational-tactical missions independently or coordinated with YPA units. In accordance with the general interrepublic agreement and regulations, then, we have set up TD units everywhere where it was necessary and needed. The staffs and local communities are already functioning, and, as I said, doing very well. This still does not mean that we have already done the job everywhere, that the staffs have been set up everywhere, nor does it even mean that where the staffs exist they are acting as we would like.

Question: Certainly, Comrade General, such important changes in territorial defense have brought about important personnel shifts, a bolstering of the plant and equipment for training, and an amendment of plans?

Answer: The formation of the TD units and the new staffs and the important changes in TD in general have put the emphasis on the question of an officer corps. I can immediately say that in this respect, in direct cooperation with sociopolitical organizations and communities and the League of Communists of Slovenia, we have made an almost revolutionary move: we have defined the criteria concerning the lower and upper age limits for certain command and other positions in TD units. I mean to say that we have brought a significant number of new people into positions in TD, so that the average age has dropped by 13 years. We no longer have a single wartime officer in responsible positions in TD units. To be sure, many of these people still do not have the appropriate military rank, but I can say that these people are experienced, though young, since they have gone through all the positions in TD: from the position of platoon commander on up. At the same time, these are well-known sociopolitical figures and activists who make up for what they lack with their youth, effort and drive. This certainly imposes on all TD staffs major new obligations with respect to their constant training and improvement.

Question: This means, Comrade General, that personnel policy and training are a particular concern of yours?

Answer: We are constantly thinking about personnel, and in this area we are cooperating most directly with the personnel councils of sociopolitical organizations. That is, since almost all our units are in the opstina and local community, we have left personnel policy to their coordinating bodies. They have a keen interest in seeing that their TD units are led by the best people. In Slovenia we also had quite a few difficulties in previous years concerning the choice of young people for reserve officers schools. By transferring those matters downward to the competence of opstina personnel bodies, we guaranteed that the best young people would go to reserve officers schools.

At the same time we are trying to provide professional improvement for the officer corps in TD, we are broadening people's horizons, and we are encouraging them in their work. This is making it possible for us to be still bolder in bringing in young personnel, since it is well known that only young people can be effective today in directing units in combat. But since these are what I would call young people, we are trying to help them improve their professional competence in an organizational way as well. To this end we are organizing a whole range of exercises, seminars, lectures and other forms of training, and at the same time we have increased the number attending various sessions and courses organized by service-school centers of the YPA for TD needs. For example, last year we sent several hundred of our young officers for additional schooling.

Question: Training in territorial defense units has been very intensive in recent years. Annual analyses and results of certain exercises conducted together with YPA units indicate that you have recorded important results. It would be interesting, Comrade General, for you to tell us how TD training is being organized in Slovenia and what you see to be the specific features of that training.

Answer: I would immediately say that we are in the midst of carrying out the medium-term plan for training TD units, under which, as is well known, the training of units involves members being called up for between 7- and 10-day exercises in a 5-year cycle (2 days annually in work organizations and local communities). In order to perform this priority task in the best possible way, we first set up centers for training territorial units. Thus the entire unit, when its turn comes, is called to the center for training, and the training is directed by their regular officers.

Acquisition of New Knowledge

But because of specific conditions--the chronic shortage of certain specialists--we have been compelled to impart to the soldiers certain basic military knowledge in the manner this is done in YPA units. We are also thinking about bivouacking, which would make it possible for us to adapt

training more closely to their wartime tasks. At the moment the centers are making it possible for us to create a sound physical basis for training, we are covering all the topics contemplated, and since by and large we prepared them properly, we are also doing all the planned target practice.

We are constantly analyzing the training in centers so as to answer the question of whether that form of training is yielding the optimum results. In any case we confront the constant task of studying the good and bad points, of finding better and more up-to-date solutions which will ultimately make for higher combat capability of TD units.

Question: The training of TD units is directed by their regular officers, that is, men who are not professionals, but reserve officers. What is being done so that they are better equipped for those functions, which are by no means simple?

Answer: Staffs at all levels are constantly concerned about the officer corps and training them for their functions, as I have already said. Since we hold firmly to the position that training should be directed by those officers who will command the units in a possible war, and since these people do not have enough experience in some areas, we are attributing great importance to their preparation and professional training. Preparation for training, for example, is proceeding along two lines. One is individual preparation according to a special curriculum which covers almost the entire teaching year. That is, an officer who will be called up for an exercise with his unit receives a curriculum and syllabus at the beginning of the year, and he is informed about the most important tasks and topics. All the professional literature is made available to him, and we publish some of the contributions in the journal NASA OBRAMBA, which all our officers receive. The other form is group training. This form of preparing officers for training we organize by assembling all the officers some 7 to 10 days before the units are called up. In these orientation centers the instructors--officers from TD staffs--go over the entire content of the upcoming training once again. Then there are everyday immediate preparations for the time the unit will be training, so that we really leave nothing to chance.

Question: Training is directly bound up with its material base. How far have you gone, Comrade General, in providing the material base for the training of TD units?

Answer: Development of the material base for training is in line with the medium-term plan. This means that we are now doing what we contemplated in the medium-term plan for development of the material base. We are at the moment in the phase when our regional staffs are preparing all the necessary documentation for equipment and final construction of training centers, which even now can meet our needs, but with additions to certain structures such as special drill grounds, target ranges, etc., will become still more up-to-date. In the foreseeable future the centers should be of service to

the training and work of all nationwide defense components, and in some part they will be used even by YPA units, the police, civil defense.... Our centers are of the camp type (tent cities) with certain permanent structures and facilities for training in antilanding defense, antiair defense, etc.

Serbia's General Tanaskovic

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 78 p 13

[Interview with Col Gen Rajko Tanaskovic, commander of the Territorial Defense Staff of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, by Advan Hozic, NARODNA ARMIJA editor: "The Growth of Defense and Political Awareness"]

[Text] Question: Comrade General, what in your judgment are the greatest achievements in preparations for defense in Serbia during the period since the 10th LCY Congress and up to the present day?

Answer: In the period between the 10th and 11th LCY Congresses exceptional results have been achieved in Serbia, as incidentally throughout our country, in preparations for defense of the country, in building up the system of nationwide defense as a whole, and particularly in building, arming, equipping, training and directing the armed forces, which also implies TD. Here in short is what we have done.

I regard it as a very significant fact that TD, particularly in the last 4 years, as indeed nationwide defense as a whole, has in Serbia become the concern and preoccupation of all participants in the self-managed socialist society. As a practical matter nationwide defense, and accordingly TD as well, is today an immediate and specific concern not just of sociopolitical organizations alone, and still less is it in the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of specialized and professional agencies and services, but defense of the country and preparation for that defense are a task on which almost all the working people and citizens in Serbia are engaged, as is the case moreover throughout our country. This involvement is not accidental, is not disorganized, is neither temporary nor occasional, nor is it a matter of enthusiasts alone. On the contrary, preparation for nationwide defense and the Yugoslav citizen's participation in that preparation are lasting in their nature, and they have very concrete ideological-political content and firm organizational forms.

The fact that nationwide defense, and therefore TD as well, has become a part of the everyday commitments of our working people and citizens I take to be the most important result which we have achieved in building TD in the period between the congresses of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Question: Please single out what has been most important in developing and building territorial defense staffs and units.

Answer: In the period we are talking about we have achieved very important results in other domains in building TD as well. But since this is no place for profound and extensive analyses, I will take up certain questions and problems in that exceptionally important domain of public activity.

One of the greatest and most important tasks which we have very effectively performed in this period between the two congresses is the improvement of territorial defense, i.e., that we have continued to bring it up to date. This task has been the principal preoccupation of all party members in the territorial defense system in Serbia, and I can say that it has been performed very successfully.

Improvement of territorial defense has brought an evident improvement in the organizational structure of TD staffs. The size, and particularly the internal organizational structure of TD staffs, have been adjusted so that personnel working in them can be used to the optimum in performance of various tasks. In this context it is important to emphasize that the skill differentials of people working in them have improved considerably. However, there is still a need for their professional competence in performance of the more complicated TD tasks to be raised to a still higher level, which applies to professional expertise and also to the technical and organizational aspects.

Substantial improvements have also been made in the organization and military formation of wartime TD units and commands, for example: units have been enlarged; command and direction have been improved; mobilization time has been shortened; TD forces now cover the entire territory of Serbia, thus facilitating combat control of all our space; units have been manned with better qualified personnel (both soldiers and officers); the number of members of the League of Communists has increased (they now represent 19.79 percent of the total strength of TD, which is about 4.21 percent higher than before reorganization of TD); the average age of TD personnel has dropped considerably (of both officers and men), and there is also an evident improvement in the armament and other military equipment furnished to staffs and units. And so on.

Thus a very important advance has been achieved, and a sound basis has been created for further work in the constant strengthening of staffs and units and the continuous improvement of their readiness for mobilization and combat.

Question: Surely this has affected the quality of training as well?

Answer: The training of TD officers, staffs and units has been and remains one of the priority tasks in our further work. Training is being done on a regular, planned and organized basis from organizations of associated labor, local communities and opstinas to the republic, and in this area exceptional results have been achieved in the period we have mentioned.

All the essential preconditions have been achieved both in terms of personnel and also materiel for achieving still better results in training and indoctrination in the period ahead of us. In any case, with respect to training and its results I would like to particularly emphasize the successes being achieved in this respect by organizations of associated labor, which has been very vividly manifested precisely in these last 2-3 years. Though our TD training as a whole is good, I think that work organizations, particularly the larger and more complicated ones, are leading in this. I think this is altogether understandable if we bear in mind the fact that work organizations are ordinarily best supplied with the physical facilities for training since they are the principal source of materiel and funds not only for others, but also for themselves, and the TD units of work organizations are made up solely and exclusively of personnel of those organizations, which means that the people are always there, it is not difficult to get them together for a training session, they know each other quite well, and so on, all of which means that training and indoctrination of the TD units of work organizations can be conducted effectively and with greater frequency, and yet the cost is lower than training, say, of a large opstina unit or a unit at the regional level.

Another constructive feature of training and work organizations is the favorable situation with respect to officer personnel of units of work organizations. That is, the composition of personnel with respect to skills in work organizations, particularly the larger and more elaborate ones, has improved in the last 4 years (a high number of people with senior and junior postsecondary and secondary training), the consequences being an increase in the number of reserve officers and of younger reserve officers since a good number of these people are graduating from reserve officers schools.

Question: Are there any problems in this respect, Comrade General?

Answer: So that all that I have said is not painted only in bright colors and rosy shades, I must say that we have had and we still have shortcomings and blank spots both in training and indoctrination and also in certain other sectors of TD activity, which I also feel to be natural and normal. Something else is important, and that is that the mistakes are being properly and punctually detected, that they are being corrected, and that the mistakes and shortcomings are not being repeated. At the annual conference recently held concerning training and indoctrination in the TD system of Serbia we analyzed in detail the situation and the problems in training, we established what was constructive in this area, we ascertained the shortcomings and their causes, and on the basis of all that we defined altogether specific tasks for the coming period. This conference was covered by our press, but unfortunately more in the form of an account, though there were quite a few topics that required a different treatment in our press, especially the military press, but in other periodicals as well.

One of our shortcomings is still the low level of involvement of young women not only in the system of nationwide defense and social self-protection in

general, but also in the armed forces, TD especially, and here I am referring to combat units, the idea being that they would fight on an equal footing with their male comrades, with guns in their hands, as indeed they did in the National Liberation War. Yet the situation is being rectified in this respect as well, and it is altogether certain that the favorable trends will not only, but will be stepped up until optimum results are achieved.

Question: I would like you to say something about what has been the point of focus in the training of TD units.

Answer: Joint tactical exercises involving not only formations of the armed forces, but also other social components on an increasingly frequent and organized basis have occupied a special place in training and do so even now; this is in conformity with the basic requirements of contemporary warfare, the conception of nationwide defense and our war doctrine.

When I put the emphasis on training as a part of our activity, I have in mind an irrefutable fact whose purport is that armament and equipment can have their full impact only if they are in the hands of people with sound political ideology who have had superb professional training. If, then, we fail in indoctrination and training, then it is quite certain that the armament and equipment our units possess, and it is very sound and up-to-date, will not and cannot yield the optimum results in combat. Finally, if we are unable to compete with a possible adversary in every element of weaponry, we must and can surpass him in our knowledge and skill, and do even better, as we managed to do in our national liberation war and revolution.

Question: How was the leading role of the League of Communists manifested in all of this?

Answer: The numerous obligations of the League of Communists in strengthening the forces of defense have been emphasized in all the materials for the congress. Certainly the most important would include the following: the struggle of the League of Communists and every one of its members, of officers of the armed forces and of leadership personnel in general for the firmest possible brotherhood and unity of our nationalities and ethnic minorities; the direct involvement of party members in the tasks of ideological-political indoctrination and professional military education of units and staffs, and so on. In territorial defense, since the units are not constantly assembled in peacetime, but each member is at his peacetime job, and in view of certain other specific features of TD, the work of the League of Communists in preparing TD for warfare becomes still more important. That is, in addition to the responsibility of party members in units for the unit's morale and political climate and for combat readiness, all organizations of the League of Communists, and especially the parent organization, should be directly involved in this work. The reason is that TD units come together relatively rarely (only during exercises, reviews and the like) and also because preparation for defense is a logical and natural obligation of all social components, the League of Communists above all.

I would like to particularly emphasize that aside from the evident results achieved from the organizational and military-defensive standpoint, the greatest achievement and most important results in Serbia can be said to be the steady rise in the high political and social awareness of our working people and citizens concerning the correctness of the direction we are taking and the need to defend the country on the foundations of the conception of nationwide defense, that is, on the basis of Tito's conception. It is this kind of awareness that has been and is the essential prerequisite for all success we have achieved in nationwide defense in Serbia.

Question: So, Comrade General, territorial defense in Serbia has achieved very good results in advance of the 11th LQY Congress?

Answer: That is true. Thanks to the tremendous help which we have had in building up nationwide defense and territorial defense from the highest agencies and bodies of the republic (I am thinking of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Serbian Assembly and Serbian Executive Council) and to the exceptional efforts made by all other participants in public life, it can be said with confidence and full responsibility that today we have territorial defense which in its organizational strength, the ideological-political commitment of people making it up, and in the way territorial defense units have been armed, equipped and trained, is ready at any moment to perform all missions assigned it by the League of Communists, the commander in chief Comrade Tito and our self-managed socialist community. There is no doubt whatsoever in this respect, nor can there be.

Now that we are discussing building up territorial defense in Serbia and the results which we have achieved so far in that buildup, I feel morally obligated to emphasize the very good cooperation and effective aid which we have had in training and indoctrination both with respect to preserving and maintaining equipment and also with respect to certain other matters from the commands and units of the first and second military districts, aid which we are continuing to receive. We have received and are still receiving particularly valuable aid in building up territorial defense from the agencies of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and from Army General Nikola Ljubicic, the federal secretary, personally. It is not just a question of good commands and directives and sensible instructions, but of direct and immediate commitment in solving altogether specific and vital problems of territorial defense.

Vojvodina's General Radovanov

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 78 p 8

[Interview with Maj Gen Milenko Radovanov, commander of the Territorial Defense Staff of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, by Advan Hozic, NARODNA ARMIJA editor: "Socialization of Defense at the Base"]

[Text] Question: Comrade General, please tell us the kind of results party members in Vojvodina have had in preparations for nationwide defense on the eve of the 11th LCY Congress.

Answer: This was discussed at the 16th Provincial Conference of the League of Communists which we held recently. It was emphasized on that occasion that we achieved important results in development of nationwide defense in Vojvodina and of territorial defense in particular. We achieved these results in accordance with our general-political and doctrinal commitments, as an integral part of the Yugoslav Armed Forces and as an expression of nationwide defense of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Vojvodina, and as the most extensive organizational form of nationwide resistance and above all of armed resistance. We have been developing TD, then, on the foundations of Yugoslavia's overall and general goals and criteria, but also on the basis of peculiarities related to the specific nature of our situation and space in Vojvodina.

The present level of development of territorial defense in our province has been adjusted to and based on the conception of nationwide defense, so that it is possible to continue effective and still more dynamic additional construction of the TD system in all elements, which will be raised to a still higher level of ideological, organizational and professional military excellence.

In Vojvodina at the present time we have strong and numerous TD units. The most numerous are in opstinas, local communities and organizations of associated labor, units in the positional defense structure, and a number of special units, units of the various arms, and special-purpose units have been developed within their framework.

Question: Results of that kind are certainly a reflection of the moral and political unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities living in this region. Please tell us your judgment on this topic.

Answer: That goes without saying. The lasting and ever more constructive attitude of the working people and citizens toward the obligations of nationwide defense is being manifested more and more. In this context we feel that the high level of self-management and socialist patriotic awareness has the effect that both the men and the officers of TD staffs, commands and units as a whole make exceptional efforts in the struggle to improve the quality of all TD components and to raise combat readiness to a

higher level. I must emphasize the very high value of the moral and political unity of all TD components, which is an expression of a high level of awareness concerning the attributes of our self-management system, the brotherhood and unity and equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of the province, and the readiness to be well organized and competent in jointly guarding and defending their freedom and independence and their internal self-management socialist way of life and work against any aggression.

Concern About Personnel

In all of this the League of Communists has had an important and indispensable role in terms of both ideology and action. I feel that that role must be still greater, not only as a catalytic ideological-political force to a greater or lesser extent, but also as a force directly involved in developing the system of nationwide defense and social self-protection. Through its activity the League of Communists is always giving a new impetus to further activities in development of the conception of nationwide defense. This both stimulates and promotes development of TD as a whole. To us it is important in every way that one out of every four members of TD units is a member of the League of Communists, and for officers that percentage goes even above 90 percent. About 3,000 members of TD units in Vojvodina have been elected to leadership bodies of the League of Communists and of sociopolitical and public organizations, to elective bodies of sociopolitical communities and work organizations, and so on.

Question: What sort of results have been achieved in the socialization of nationwide defense?

Answer: Since the 10th LCY Congress significant success has been achieved in the province in socialization of all matters pertaining to nationwide defense at all levels of our self-management organizational structure. This has taken on rather extensive dimensions and has given strong new impetus to development of the conception of nationwide defense as a whole. Although everything has not been done to socialize these affairs, I nevertheless think that to a large extent it has become our constant practice for political and public components, those which are the most responsible, the League of Communists and all self-management bodies and institutions to be involved and to make decisions concerning the organization, construction and development of TD. Today we have achieved a high level of socialization of these affairs. To be sure, this is an ongoing process, one on which still more work will be done in the future, particularly with respect to the base of society and the basic self-management cells of our society.

Question: Socialization unquestionably offers great opportunities for TD units and components to become independent as well?

Answer: That is right. We are already confronted with numerous demands by young people and women to be more involved in the armed forces and TD units.

Today territorial defense has grown to become an extensively organized defensive organization of society. Assuming certain additional adjustments and additions not confined exclusively to armed forms (especially at the base of society: the opstina, the local community and the work organization), TD can become a still fuller expression of the conception of the armed populace. Objectively it is capable of this, and I am convinced that in our context this will indeed be the case. This would be in line with the demand for further construction of the conception of nationwide defense along the line of closer linkage to the system of social self-protection, and would be the best guarantee of that linkage. Under present conditions this presupposes, first of all, a higher level of competence of local communities and organizations of associated labor for defense and social self-protection, but at the same time it necessitates clear commitments with respect to further construction of certain defense-security elements within the framework of our self-management system.

Question: Allow me to ask you how your personnel situation is in TD units?

Answer: Over the last 4 years we have achieved important results in personnel policy as well. There have been considerable changes in the composition of the officer corps with respect to age, military education, nationality and social background. About 7 percent of officer positions have been filled with soldiers (reservists) who have proven themselves in sociopolitical activities and who have been successfully performing their functions. As for the results achieved, I can say that the steps taken by the provincial territorial defense staff and also by sociopolitical communities and organizations have had a constructive effect on the condition, combat readiness and level of training of TD units. I would particularly like to emphasize that we have achieved a situation in which the leading positions in TD units and staffs are treated as public and civic functions whose successful performance in peacetime and wartime is of particular public interest; that the question of training personnel for the needs of territorial defense and their assignment to wartime positions have taken on the broadest social importance and have grown to become one of the most lasting and responsible political obligations of all public entities in the opstinas and province, which is one reason why we can expect still better results in this respect as time goes on. I am convinced that these results will be achieved.

Question: Please tell us something about training and how it is being carried out.

Answer: The training of our TD units is very extensive, intensive and diverse. The plan calls for every single element to go through training. Last year more than 65 percent of all members of TD units went through such varied forms of training as training sessions lasting several days, 1-day exercises, mobilization exercises to review combat readiness, and courses and seminars. The basic topics taken up in the training of units have been related to training and drilling and performance of specialized

combat assignments. The emphasis, of course, has been on the training of commands, staffs and officers.

Practice Is an Indispensable Form of Training

With respect to drilling all components of nationwide defense in the holding of joint tactical exercises rather notable results have been achieved, and considerable efforts were made. We have carried out a large number of tactical exercises jointly with YPA units and civilian components of nationwide defense in local communities and opstinas. In recent years a considerably more responsible attitude is being taken toward training. Better organization and more planning is being applied to this task, increasingly complex and meaningful subject matter are being included, and it is being carried out with new forms and methods. We also have larger physical facilities for training, though I think we can do still more in this respect.

Question: In view of the growth of TD units, their development and level of organization, which are closely bound up with the results of the overall social development of the community in which those units are being organized, tell us something about the future.

Answer: In this past period since the 10th LCY Congress very important results have been achieved in the socioeconomic development of the province, in strengthening the socialist relations of self-management, in augmenting material production, in labor productivity, in increasing employment, in consistent distribution according to the results of work, in the growth of investments and in the rise of the standard of living of the working people. Social security and general social and political stability have improved. All of this is most directly relevant to the attitude of working people and citizens toward the obligations in further development of our self-management system as a whole and in defense of that system against any encroachment by an enemy. The prospects, then, are for us to continue strengthening and developing our chosen way of self-management, to broaden it, to consistently carry out the positions taken by the League of Communists, and to realize in practice the words of Comrade Tito.

Question: So, Comrade General, we can expect a new harvest of results next year?

Answer: Not only a new harvest, but also a richer one. I think and I am convinced that the successes will be even greater, especially in the broad dimensions of preparations of the working people and citizens for armed combat and nationwide resistance by involving more and more people in TD units. With respect to training and indoctrination our efforts in the coming period will be primarily aimed at correcting the shortcomings that have been manifested and detected already. On the whole we are constantly involved in an intense struggle for a new level of quality in our overall preparations and with respect to all elements of combat readiness. It is a guarantee of new success that we see a high level of interest and support

on the part of all sociopolitical and self-management components and the working people and citizens, who are participating responsibly and energetically in the jobs and tasks we have been talking about, jobs and tasks which have been widely taken up not only as an expression of ideological-political commitment and patriotic consciousness, but also as a right and responsibility in the context of self-management.

7045

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

PREPARATION FOR 1981 POPULATION CENSUS DISCUSSED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jun 78 p 15

[Excerpts] The largest, the most complete, and the most expensive population census in Yugoslavia thus far will be held in April 1981. The preparations for this big "inventory" of all the Yugoslavs and Yugoslavia on the whole, which will be carried out with the most modern methods and on the level of the best censuses in the world, has started already in the statistics service of our country.

"The critical moment," as the statisticians call the time in which the population census will take place, will begin at midnight between 31 March and 1 April 1981. All those who will be born up to that time or are still alive at that time will enter into the population census, and those who will be born even a minute after midnight will not be listed.

It is expected that Yugoslavia will have 22.5 million inhabitants at that "critical moment."

Yugoslavia has now 21,914,000 inhabitants. According to the first census after the war, in 1941, there were 15,842,000 inhabitants. The census in 1953 listed 16,991,000 inhabitants in Yugoslavia, in 1961 it listed 18,549,000 and in 1971 it listed 20,523,000.

According to the number of inhabitants, Yugoslavia is now in eighth place in Europe. In accordance with the established practice, and with the recommendation of the UN that the population census in all the countries be held every 10 years and possibly in years which end in either zero or one, the law in Yugoslavia provides that the population census be held every 10 years and in years that end in one.

According to the chief of the population census section in the Federal Bureau of Statistics this census will cost a minimum of 600 million dinars (according to 1977 prices), but it is expected that the cost will be much higher. The cost of population census in 1971 amounted to 200 million dinars.

A minimum of 110,000 people will be directly employed in the population census, which will be carried out during the first 10 days of April 1981. This is the first census which will be financed by the social-political associations. All the censuses have been financed thus far from the federal budget.

All the Yugoslavs on temporary work abroad will be included in the census, but ways are still being studied for doing this as precisely as possible so that the census would include all those families which are indeed only on temporary work and do not intend to stay abroad permanently.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

LAW ON ARMS, MILITARY EQUIPMENT PRODUCTIONS AND TRAFFIC PROPOSED

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 13 Jun 78 p 5

[Article by Franci Stres]

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 June--At present in Yugoslavia there is no legal text that truly regulates matters of production and traffic in arms and military equipment so that there is no unified definition or even suitable basic economic relations or other relations or measures in that area. Thus all the questions that could arise in such activities, such as their social significance and role, and concrete economic problems and legal relationships remain open, essential matters.

At the moment all such matters are handled by chance, incompletely and only in part, by a number of various legal texts which do not correspond to or satisfy the requirements of an activity of special social significance.

There is also a need to have traffic and production of arms and military equipment controlled by a unified law. Support for that concept came a few months ago, so that the proposed law on economic and other relationships in the production and traffic in arms and military equipment is now in the legislative process.

The previous disorder in preparation and carrying out plans concerning such an important matter of special social interest has in individual examples reflected badly both on the economic and the legal position of producers of such equipment, while at the same time affecting the development of the domestic arms industry as the prime supplier of equipment to the armed forces of Yugoslavia. All that has caused fluctuations in the development of the material base of the domestic arms industry, for the once leading industry in technology and equipment has become antiquated in numerous aspects. At the moment its capital reproductive capability is below the level that would assure stable progress on a modern technological basis.

The proposed law would eliminate the difficulties that have emerged, provide unified fundamental legal and economic relationships, and give comprehensive evaluation and determination to the special social

interest in that area. As past experience has shown, the most significant factor is that such production cannot be limited only to the activities of those organizations that the Federal Executive Council designates as producers of arms and military equipment.

A portion of the total production will be specifically allotted to other organizations of associated labor on the basis of long-term agreements with the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. At the same time, the share that goes to cooperative partners and producers of individual raw materials and other semifinished products should not be ignored.

The need for a unified legal treatment of this activity is also indicated by the fact that income of involved organizations, as well as the socio-economic position of producers, is not established in the marketplace and cannot be. Specifically, not everyone can be involved in that production, and producers here objectively cannot resolve their projects, program directions and production on the basis of market demand. Actually, the means of defense and military equipment are practically speaking outside normal commerce, with the exception of purchase and sales between producers and purchasers of those items for national defense. An additional and no less important reason for adopting this law is found in the straightforward question of prices for these products and their determination and the importance of foreign trade, particularly exports of such products, where it is worthwhile to eliminate certain shortcomings in the conduct of such transactions.

Not least important, production and traffic in arms and military equipment also require use of a special system and mechanism for security and protection and attention too from the standpoint of protecting production facilities and installations from possible sabotage, protecting secret data, and utilization of special security measures in the production process itself.

The draft of the new legal code in individual provisions has already been supplemented by comments of appropriate republic agencies, assembly work forces and committees; it is arranged to regulate all basic principles and measures in this branch of the economy of special social importance. Its basic provisions and proposed solutions come consistently from the needs for the clearest possible definition of the social position of producers, circumstances relating to prices of arms and military equipment, relations in foreign trade of such arms and equipment, security, national defense, supervision, and legal responsibility.

12131

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

SETINC ADDRESSES STATUTORY COMMISSION REPRESENTATIVES

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 14 Jun 78 p 2

[Report by Boris Dolnicar and Tine Guzej]

[Text] Ljubljana, 13 June--In the words of Franc Setinc, "Now a resolute struggle awaits us to improve the efficiency of our political system, which must be augmented with the content of the self-management system." Setinc is secretary of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the LCS (League of Communists of Slovenia) and his words are from the keynote speech at the conference held today with the presidents of the statutory commissions of the obcina conferences of the LCS, at which discussions were held on the vital tasks of those commissions after the Eighth LCS Congress.

Preparations are already under way in Slovenia for the 11th LCY Congress aimed at actions for a new quality of relationships in domestic society. Therefore the request is so pronounced that self-management acts that in the past have been adopted in organizations of associated labor should as quickly as possible become part of social reality. This means that in everyday self-management practice the socioeconomic and political position of the worker would be changed. This is the more true, in the words of Franc Setinc, since we still have cases where there is very little self-management, for actual relationships are effectively screened by formal self-management documents.

The Executive Committee secretary of the LCS Central Committee directed special attention at the increased role of the basic LCY organizations, which must carry the entire self-management experience. That means that they must be prepared suitably, for it is difficult to expect that officials would readily affect existing conditions and change them in accordance with LCS policy. For the present, however, we still encounter basic organizations on the margins of social events and the political course in particular organizations of associated labor (especially in labor organizations and associations). In addition to these types, there is a considerable number where most of the activities are left to the secretary or the secretariat, while the membership is more or less inactive.

Franc Setinc expressly stressed the role of the leadership, which must be connected to the membership in constant, daily communication. Therefore today also the leadership of the basic or obcina organizations of the League of Communists must be "revolutionary headquarters" which have a feeling for the vital interests of the workers and citizens, while at the same time being able to rise above parochial interests and express decisions jointly so as to influence the membership. Other than greater involvement and responsibility, this attitude drives us to change the present forms and methods of action (and this holds true in no less measure for the socialist alliance and the trade unions).

The development of self-management interest pluralism means in essence that the worker will acquire the leading role in the political system and become the chief functionary in managing the conditions and results of labor. From a practical standpoint, self-management interest pluralism is in fact a principle that requires that all cards be laid on the table and at the same time, that we prevent every attempt that might make it impossible for anyone to express his interests. Consequently we understand it to be first of all the freedom of creativity and a democratic dialog relying on debate.

Franc Setinc also stated that sometimes we may be too tolerant of sectarian manifestations, for we must be aware that those who demonstrate such tendencies are actively undermining the foundations of the Yugoslav revolution. The struggle against sectarianism is therefore truly a struggle for the wide range of political activity and the bulwarks of the League of Communists.

After the keynote address, the president of the commission, Slavko Sorsak, spoke about the ideas and political platform for changes and additions to the LCS statutes; among other things he brought attention to the need for building a party that will be powerful in action and unified, so that it will be truly a cohesive, united force. Zupancic outlined to the presidents of the statutory commissions of the League of Communists of the LCS obcina conferences the most important changes and innovations in the statute of the League of Communists of Slovenia, and Ludvik Golob presented a series of proposed changes and additions to the statutory codes of the LCS obcina organizations and the rules of operation of basic organizations. He stressed that legal codes and rules of operation are not new documents, but rather merely mean the coordination of those codes and rules with the statutes of the League of Communists of Slovenia and the LCY. He also emphasized the need for a systematic approach in preparing statutory codes.

The introductory remarks and explanations not only showed the urgent tasks that must be handled by the LCS statutory commissions, but they were also the basis for a wide-ranging discussion. More precisely,

the presidents of those commissions from the LCS obcina conferences, with a member of the LCS statutory commission, prepared a number of concrete questions and devoted their attention to explaining newly adopted innovations and changes in the LCS statute, which of course will be reflected in their work in the obcina conferences and in preparing statute codes and rules of operation.

In the fall a similar conference will be arranged by regions, so that individual statutory commissions can receive answers to the numerous questions they encounter in changing and coordinating statutory codes. It was also agreed that it is necessary to coordinate and prepare statutory codes in this way, not only just in the leadership of the obcina organizations of the League of Communists, but rather this must be a reflection of public debate.

Thus for example, it was clarified that the deputy secretary would replace the former organizational secretary, wherein it was of most note that this person should not be the house servant of everyone, as Ludvik Golob stated, but rather the duties of the position and its responsibilities should be determined clearly and precisely. Numerous questions were related to matters that now occur only in specific circumstances, it was also stressed, where the political active cannot be a method of formulation and resolution, but only a working mode. In associated labor such an active can easily become an imaginary force that gains rights and power that do not belong to it at all. In any case, it will be necessary to consider those political actives at greater length, for after all their exact titles have not even been determined.

12131

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

CD SPOKESMEN ADVOCATE GREATER EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 14 Jun 78 p 5

[Interview by Franci Stres with Milos Sulin and Polde Stukelj prior to Civil Defense Day]

[Text] Ljubljana, 13 June--On 20 June, for the first time Yugoslavia will celebrate Civil Defense Day. The first civil defense day will be marked throughout the country by numerous activities of civil defense headquarters and units with various exercises and competitions that basically began the beginning of June.

In the days when activities are increasing, DELO interviewed Milos Sulin and Polde Stukelj, director and chief of staff, respectively, of the Slovenian civil defense program. They talked in great detail of the present situation, the organization, main directions, and particular weaknesses of civil defense.

DELO: What is the current situation in the area of improving defensive installations; what are the fundamental problems and at what levels are efforts being made for the comprehensive development of civil defense? Where is broader sociopolitical action needed, particularly as concerns popular education?

Answer by Stukelj: Despite the enviable level of organization, capability, equipment and numbers that we have achieved in the postwar period in the area of improving civil defense, we are still too often making changes and standardizing its true content, role, purpose and sphere of operations with self-defense and at times also with social self-defense. Therefore it would be worthwhile to draw clear boundaries between those three concepts.

First Aid and Preparations for the Most Pressing Actions

The process of organizing civil defense was dictated chiefly by the destruction in the wars and the consequences of natural catastrophes of

major magnitude. The primary assignment of civil defense is to rescue and protect the populace, their individual property and public property from military actions and major elemental misfortunes. This assignment also relates to self-defense as an organic component, in which all inhabitants are included who can readily perform rescue and protective actions. At the same time, civil defense includes the most diverse social and other organizations which are involved in any case with rescue and protection of people and property. Among these are fire departments, the Red Cross, communal labor organizations, health services, veterinary services, etc. Indeed all whose regular duties involve rescue and protection form part of the civil defense system. In addition, the functions of civil defense also bring in special organizational structures, such as units and headquarters for civil defense in organizations of associated labor, regional bodies, obcinas, and the republic, which carries the primary responsibility in actions of leading and directing as well as coordinating the functions of all components of civil defense.

It is intended that with self-defense the largest activity of civil defense, we should offer only first aid, that is, the fundamental and least demanding assistance, the first protective measures. In this manner we would in practice prepare everything necessary for the more demanding rescue and protective actions, which cannot be accomplished without advanced special preparation, equipment, and proper organization.

Social self-defense on the other hand involves safeguarding the fundamental gains of the socialist revolution, the social system of socialist self-management relationships, in the face of any sort of enemy hostile action and protecting public property from destruction by either malicious or careless act.

As for civil defense preparedness in Yugoslavia and in Slovenia, we are reaching the level of the developed countries, where considerable attention is devoted to this area. In that regard we are not lagging behind other countries except in the construction of shelters. Some European countries have done more than we in that area, such as Switzerland, Sweden and some others. In recent years we have been attempting to correct that situation, although matters do not proceed easily and without difficulties.

We Are Lagging in Building Shelters

Among the shortcomings that have not been overcome, the most significant is the insufficient rate of improving shelter installations, for with them we could accomplish more than with rescue efforts. Most Slovenian communities adopted resolutions on construction of shelters in the anticipated legal period. Actually, it can be said that all obcinas have begun the construction of shelters in all larger settlements, industrial areas, and more important transportation junctions. In larger

republic centers we have taken the forefront in building shelters. Yet despite the adopted obcina resolutions (five Slovenian obcinas have not yet adopted them), in quite a few instances we encounter situations where investors are attempting to circumvent the regulations.

An additional weakness is in failing to take certain safety and security measures into consideration during construction. This applies especially to private builders who wish to earn an extra dinar at any price, so that they evade the requirement of building earthquake-proof structures.

Obviously people are not sufficiently conscious of the possible consequences. At Tolminsko we can easily see new houses that are so damaged that nothing remained but for the builder to tear them down. And in Slovenia there are certain areas where structures should be built to be truly earthquake-proof.

We Are Building High, Higher Than the Ladders Reach

In preparing construction plans, we often violate the space and urban plan. We build too densely, so that in a fire the flames can easily spread from building to building while the collapsing ruins would fall into the next building, and sometimes we build structures and complexes where rescuers with their equipment cannot do anything. An example is the Bratovzeva Square area in Ljubljana. Proper construction is unquestionably a key protective measure, but we constantly forget that. Everywhere we build tall buildings; 12-story towers have almost become the rule. Meanwhile in all Slovenia there are only two ladders that reach above the eighth floor (one in Ljubljana and the other in Maribor). In other countries they put outside fire escapes on tall buildings, while here we have been working for years for such a resolution of this problem. Statutes are now being prepared that will bring order in that area, even though we are aware that everything cannot be accomplished merely by passing laws. In any case, situations are gradually being straightened out, even if progress is too slow in some instances.

DELO: What is the situation in Slovenia regarding self-defense capabilities of the populace and its preparedness for quick reaction to possible misfortunes and destruction?

Stukelj: In the past 5 years we have taken a large step forward. Most people are conscious of the basic measures so that in case of war or natural disaster people would know how to protect themselves and help each other. We have been able to achieve the highest level of preparedness and organization in labor organizations, and of course in organizations where protection and rescue are regular functions. Less success has been possible in regional bodies, and almost nothing has been accomplished in large buildings and residential complexes. In connection with the established network of civil defense units, we know that in most obcinas

the organization is determined, and that most obcinas have all types of necessary units, including first aid units, rescue units for ruined buildings, firefighting units, bomb defusing units, communications units, and several other types. There are some obcinas, however, where the present situation is not satisfactory because the importance and role of civil defense is underestimated or because of general disinterest. Furthermore, the responsible political officials in those obcinas are not devoting the proper attention and support to those questions.

DELO: Is it possible to say that at times there still have not been the proper circumstances for correct utilization of civil defense?

Sulin: When it is a matter of deepening and activating carryover components of the general popular defense system, we do not have these types of difficulties; when, however, civil defense per se is involved, there are quite a few problems. Precisely for that reason we have recently been arranging for as many exercises and practical experiences for the entire population and for individual units as possible. The announcement of Civil Defense Day also point in that direction. The most can be accomplished by proper enlightenment of the populace. We must recognize that in wartime destruction and during natural catastrophes the people should be expected to require the most help and in the final analysis, they will provide it among themselves. Most past experience supports that conclusion.

The People Justifiably Expect Help, and They Are Also Obligated To Provide It

With all this in mind, in the first moment the most important factor is mass self-help. The example of the Skopje earthquake is eloquent evidence, for about 70 percent of the people rescued from the ruins were given assistance by their nearest neighbors, while only about 30 percent were rescued from the ruins by civil defense teams. At times numbers take precedence over special training. It is essential to realize that in civil defense we are dealing with human activity, with aid to people in trouble. Everyone who is found in such a situation expects to receive such help. And if one expects to receive it, then those who are unharmed are obliged as well to provide it.

The momentary position in Slovenia, however, does not warrant any critical evaluation. As time goes on we are constantly involving greater numbers of people in basic preparation programs, around 400,000 annually.

Various Situations in Equipment

DELO: What is the present state of capability and equipment in civil defense units?

Stukelj: While we have generally implemented the fundamental program of training the populace successfully, the training of civil defense units is still proceeding too slowly. At the moment one tenth of the population is involved in units, but only about one half of that number is suitably trained. The best trained are members of units in organizations of associated labor and community, or obcina, units, while the regional or rural bodies are the poorest.

The situation also varies regarding equipment. The best equipped are the firefighting units, and the emergency medical units are also rather well equipped, with about 70 percent of the equipment they should have. The worst situations are found in the units for collapsed building rescues, the units for radiological, bacteriological and chemical defense, and the bomb defusing units.

DELO: Why is that? Do we have too little resources available for civil defense, or is it impossible to acquire the needed equipment?

Sulin: For the most part it is a question of modest resources. Although the current intermediate development plan anticipated utilization annually of one quarter of the funds allotted to national defense for civil defense needs, the plan is not being followed. Specifically, the distributed share of funds has been lower than anticipated, so that only 12-15 percent of the total is being spent on civil defense needs. That is definitely too little.

Need To Prepare More Comprehensive and More Attractive Programs For Training

DELO: What direction will we take in the coming period to improve and expand the numerical and specialization foundations of civil defense to focus attention on the quickest elimination of shortcomings, which as we see are not few in number?

Stukelj: The basic developmental directions should concentrate chiefly on the following factors:

We must consciously keep in mind the protective measures required in space and urban planning. We must bring youth into the personnel and bolster the specialized base of units and headquarters at all levels, and particularly in the regional or rural bodies. We must organize units in large buildings and residential complexes, where the residential self-management interest groups and the house self-management council should also become engaged. At the same time, by the end of the current intermediate plan period, that is, by 1980, we must bring into civil defense units and train another 12 percent of the total Slovenian population, while equipping more than 70 percent of all units. On top of that we must as quickly as possible prepare the most comprehensive and attractive training programs possible.

12131

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

CONSEQUENCES OF CONSUMER MANIA WEIGHED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1431, 11 Jun 78
pp 18-21

[Article by Slobodanka Ast and Milan Milosevic: "Ah, The Era of Competition"]

[Text] Extended celebrations, period furniture ("everything passes, baroque remains"), elevators in two-story peasant houses, shopping trips to London, winter on Majorca, crowds of people longing for far-off seas like a paradise on earth, would you like a Cointreau or perhaps a whiskey, aspirators and all kinds of badges of status... They said that we are beginning to dance to the rhythm of the Buddenbrooks: the first generation longs for economic resources, the second seeks signs of social prestige, the third begins to enjoy music. Are we showing symptoms of an epidemic of consumer fever? What quality of living standard suits our socialist society? Do we, who strain to demonstrate our uniqueness politically and ideologically in many realms, actually possess a concept of living standard?

Freely interpreted, these are questions from a book that appeared in bookstores recently, "Kvalitet zivotnog standarda" ("The Quality of the Living Standard"). Dr Eva Berkovic, scholarly associate at the Institute of Economics in Belgrade, writes as follows in her book: "The consumer mentally is already on such a scale as to warn of the need to repress the further development of such tendencies by providing an image of a living standard that will suit our type of society."

This interesting study about an extraordinarily significant and acute social problem, as the author herself says, poses questions and defines problems that our economic theory and practice will have to take more seriously in the near future. We obviously lack, or at least are not consistently implementing, an authentic living-standard policy that ought to involve not just consumption but also the development of the human person.

The Radovanovices from the Statistics

Statistics are very often encouraging, telling us how everything is rising-- the number of television sets, automobiles, plates, shavers, mixers, square meters per capita, the proportion of protein in the diet, schools, hospital beds, detergents, and the inevitable entry on "hollow glass."

We asked people from the Federal Statistical Bureau to disclose the identity of one of the 1,300 families of four whose every dinar of income and outgo is checked to gauge the overall living standard. Believe it or not, we happened on a family with the emblematic name of Radovanovic [a surname traceable to the verb meaning "rejoice"]. The Radovanovices consented, gladly and with an obliging smile, to emerge from the statistical files and their guaranteed anonymity. As it turned out, the "typical" Radovanovices may not be so typical.

The head of the household, Milovan Radovanovic, says that he works at Post Office No 6 as a deliverer, but it is simpler for us to call him by the old term "mailman." His wife, Milica, has worked as a weaver for 30 years at the Belgrade Woolen Combine. Their son, Dragan, 20, is a second-year student at the Superior Pedagogical Academy, majoring in physical education. Their daughter, Gordana, 3 years younger, is in her third year at Belgrade secondary school No 6.

Milovan and Milica earn a monthly total of approximately 6,800 dinars, while Dragan receives a token student loan of 500 dinars.

Gordana (Goca), the family bookkeeper, reports as follows: the rent for their 27 square meters (a room opening onto a courtyard plus a kitchen on one of those pleasant streets in the Crveni Krst neighborhood is 60.55 dinars. The Radovanovices say rather resignedly that they have been at the very top of the list for housing assignments at the post-telegraph-telephone system for years. Almost half their income goes for food. Meat is on the table three times a week. They drink a liter of milk, and eat an 800-gram loaf of bread, every day. They consume a lot of eggs and sugar, they say. "We economize on everything," mother Milica adds. "Two pupils have to be educated." Although the Radovanovices with their modest 7,000 dinars a month are among the statistical families ranking around the golden mean, we note that almost everything in the house is "mechanized": they have a refrigerator, television set, washing machine, electric stove, and sewing machine. We ought to say, on the other hand, that the appliances are not new: the Obod refrigerator is long since amortized, the Tesla radio was one of the first in that part of town, and the television set is not the latest.

The youngest member of the household, the agreeable Goca, is a former winner of the Vuk prize who has let things slide a little, according to her mother's joke. She is also an excellent second-year pupil at the

Stankovic Intermediate Music School. Besides a violin costing 1.5 million dinars, her parents last year bought her an organ costing half that. "We had to," says Milica. "A second instrument is obligatory. We had no room for a piano, nor money either, to tell the truth."

With money saved for years, the Radovanovics bought Dragan a used car. It is exclusively Dragan's. He maintains this capricious vehicle with pocket money earned as a soccer referee in the Third Belgrade League.

Middle-class Package

Can we consider this used car, and the one automobile per 13 inhabitants that we often brag about, a sign of a relatively high living standard? We shall not be far off, in the opinion of Dr Berkovic, if we say that the automobile is bought in many instances at the expense of essentials. Here is one bit of evidence: one out of two families of four earning 5,000 to 6,000 dinars a month in 1976 owned an automobile! Such families spend 40 percent of their money on food, surely a sign of a low standard. People economize on cultural needs, hygiene, and of course the quality of their diet. Nonetheless, the automobile is the most sought-after item in the "middle-class living-standard package." And the upper middle classes are the pacesetters in consumption and life style, according to the findings of Dr Vesna Pesic, who has analyzed life styles for research on social strata and social consciousness (Institute for Social Sciences, Belgrade).

The obsession with the mechanical bride is taking on downright paradoxical dimensions. Stipe Suvar cites the example of the village in the Sar mountain area where the peasants keep 40 automobiles in courtyards in nearby Tetovo. In the village, there are no roads to drive the cars on. Nor have we forgotten the case of the man who killed a young fellow in defense of his car.

The following inscription is on a tombstone in a Belgrade cemetery underneath a photograph of a middle-aged man next to an automobile: "Dear T. you wanted to die for your car so you did. Bereaved spouse Z."

The automobile fetish is perhaps the best illustration of the anatomy of prestige, of social advancement via objects, but it is not the only example. Dr Berkovic also speaks of the tendency to imitate the better-off prewar strata, of the senseless emulation of consumption in other countries, of the purchase of goods that must carry the wording "Made in..." "Trca" [Trieste], a young army of consumers will tell you, is an overrated dump. One must go further, much further.

Is the construction of so-called recreation homes, which are often more than that in scale and furnishings, a genuine reflection of needs and financial potentialities? Sociologists are inclined to conclude that

the possession of a recreation home is today the most convincing way to demonstrate social status. This is perhaps the most typical "Veblenesque display of power and prestige," which inspired the political effort to investigate the origin of property (the investigation does not seem to be entirely successful).

If wasting money on villas is stigmatized up to a point, then peasant wastage on weddings and family celebrations is just ridiculed. In fact, it is the egalitarian consciousness that is being ridiculed, the fear that those who possess something will suffer moral sanctions.

Where is the waste more inauthentic? In petit-bourgeois living rooms, with their phony Louis-so-and-so and Empire furnishings, or in the high ornamental gates of glass and wrought iron in front of peasant homes?

Both town and village know this "keeping up," competition with neighbors, peeking into the next garden. The era of competition goes on as people race after style, after refinement, after longer trips than other people's.

"This is a linked and essentially logical process," says Dr Berkovic, "that is not negative in itself. Whether it will be positive depends upon the model transmitted by the higher income groups to the lower and upon the motivation for purchases of consumer goods, especially the expensive items."

Housing -- Tomorrow

One of the essentials, housing, might be said to be the greatest continuing problem with our living-standard policy, no matter how many "solidarity apartments" have been built. Our cities have obviously failed to withstand the drama of urbanization as 7 million Yugoslavs changed residence since the war. The policy of low rentals has combined with the underrating of personal savings to leave one in five employed persons in Serbia, for example, without a roof over his head for all practical purposes.

Only 10 years ago did we cross the so-called lower pathological threshold of 10 square meters of housing space per capita. According to the statistical yearbook, we now have 13.8 square meters. Even in urban areas, however, a third of the housing units lack running water. Even if we overlook these negative "quantitative and qualitative" indicators, the painful question of shantytowns remains, a drama of bullheadedness and hopelessness, of shanty builders to whom this is often the only solution. Studies show that 80 percent of the shanty builders in Belgrade are blue-collar workers. The proportion is still more alarming in Split and Novi Sad.

At last year's conference of sociologists in Sarajevo, Dr Miroslav Zivkovic posed the problem very sharply: "Exploitation on a generational level is untenable from both a sociological and a political standpoint. This generation has been living in a difficult housing situation (approximately 800,000 families have unsolved housing problems despite per-capita national income of approximately \$1,800). This generation is building housing to last 100 years or longer for generations that will have \$4,000 to \$5,000 in income." In other words, why not build more cheaply and on a more massive scale?

New Equipment -- Old Habits

Dr Milan Petrovic, who is in charge of statistics on the family budget and personal consumption, finds on the basis of a survey of 2,000 households from the statistical sample that we are unquestionable oriented toward technical progress: 88 percent of the families have an electric stove, 97 percent a refrigerator, 93 percent a washing machine. Electricity consumption has risen by a factor of 100 since 1939. But this new energy and this new modern equipment have not freed the tired employed woman in our family from the patriarchal role of cook and laundress.

"A solution is ought in the accumulation of expensive equipment," says Dr Berkovic. "We have uncritically taken over the practices of the developed capitalist countries." She is plainly referring to the lack of adequate household services even in the most developed urban areas.

Aside from the trade-union dining halls, which are expanding, public eating facilities are disorganized. The mistrust is partly justifiable: public eating facilities are still associated with the disagreeable word "cantee," with the years of ration points and greasy soups. Suspicion is also aroused because of the Balkan cult of eating -- food has to be simmered, seasoned with pepper, flavored with sweat and tears. The time of the employed mother-cook is still the cheapest, unfortunately, and her skill at making ends meet is the salvation of the overstrained budget of the average family, weighed down by the purchase of "durable consumer goods."

It is therefore no wonder that public-opinion researchers note that most housewives cite the problem of inflation, high prices, and the living standard as the fundamental problem of the country. Typically, however, we lack a sense of our housewives' "know-how": 56 percent of Belgraders stated last year that society is already doing enough for the employed woman!

Diet and cooking are least of all feminist questions. We should perhaps reflect on the fact that half of all meals in England, France, Germany, and our neighbor Italy come from tin cans, boxes, or bags. In Yugoslavia,

only the famous Argo soups and puff paste are consumed on a large scale. This is a matter not of psychology but of expense. These prepared products are remarkable expensive, according to Milica Radovanovic.

Nutritionists hold that better organized public eating facilities from nurseries to kindergartens and schools, working organizations and restaurants (where everything begins and ends with "10 [pieces of grilled chopped meat] and onions"), could improve the not especially favorable structure of the diet. Of course, we eat less grain than before the war, we eat four times more sugar and eggs, meat consumption is up 2.5 times. Still, our daily 3,539 calories contain inadequate amounts of animal protein, vitamins, and minerals. In this respect, we are still lagging behind the rest of the world, which pays strict attention to such things. The trouble is that these foods are more expensive and seem to be the prime targets for economizing. Anyway, an increase in the bread price raises the public's temperature more than an increase in meat prices.

Life on Credit

As things stand, all this automation around the family hearth, travels, cars, and expensive fashion frills comprise a substantial burden on the overstrained family budget. The main "transfusion" comes from consumer loans. In a recent survey in Belgrade by the Institute of Social Sciences, one out of three persons surveyed acknowledged household outgo to be higher than income and having been forced to take out loans. Forty-three percent of blue-collar workers live on credit, only 15 percent of specialists. Milica Radovanovic says that her people around Crveni Krst "stretch as far as the blanket is long." And loans have to be repaid.

The opinion has been heard that we pushed the personal living standard too long while neglecting public services. However, the most generalized picture of the development of the social standard reflects an increase in social consumption throughout the postwar period. The level of education is an extremely important indicator of the living standard, a mirror of the development of society: higher education has undergone remarkable expansion from 16,978 students at 26 institutions of higher learning in 1939 to 405,000 students at 319 institutions. That is a real boom. Despite these successes, the fact that remains that 2.5 million people sign their names with their fingers. This is a disturbing number of illiterates, including 385,000 under the age of 35. That is also part of the "quality" of the living standard.

The gates of nurseries are closed to 100,000 children every year, so we cannot bring about that desirable, vulnerable neutralization of the financial and cultural differences between families. The nurseries operate in the forenoon during "office hours." Most of the children in

kindergartens are the offspring of white-collar workers, anyway. Dr Vesna Pesic, who works in the Institute for Social Policy in Belgrade, notes that families with lower earnings are effectively shut out of the advantages of the social standard precisely because of those low incomes.

Cultural Ghettoes

"Have we succeeded," asks Dr Berkovic, "in developing and maintaining the inclination toward authentic cultural values?"

The inaccessibility of the social standard may be the most visible right here, in the realm of culture, which has remained the private preserve of the main urban centers. In Serbia, for example, 80 percent of the communities lack even a branch library. Angry protests against junk literature and unusually high book prices are becoming noisier.

Researchers from the Institute for Culture of Croatia recently investigated the cultural standard of Zagreb blue-collar workers and arrived at the pessimistic conclusion that the cultural emancipation of the working class is actually lagging behind its economic position and behind society's financial potentialities. What is worst, the researchers found by a comparison with a similar survey in 1969 that we have just been marking time. Movies aside, only 6.5 percent of those surveyed visit any cultural performances. The Radovanovices of the older generation never go out and cannot remember when they last went to the movies.

Leisure-time culture is confined to anesthetization by television.

Other boredom is interrupted by visits to athletic stadiums and show-business performances, and the lottery is available for those seeking luck.

More and more people long to see exotic, remote places: another burden on the overstrained family budget. However, one-third of Belgraders go to the seashore, 13 percent to relatives in rural areas. A survey in Serbia shows that one in two blue-collar workers still has no chance to travel anywhere on annual vacation time.

A great deal could be said about the role of cafes in "cultural life." This unavoidable institution of ours is linked with a pathological detail: statistics show that more is spent on beverages and tobacco than on cultural and hygienic needs combined.

Leisure time is still not considered an element of the living standard, according to Dr Berkovic, nor is the potential content of leisure time evaluated.

11

The Radovanovices, although they might have reasons for everyday dissatisfactions, say that the living standard is rising. In surveys by the Center for Public Opinion Testing, approximately 50 percent of the respondents stated that their living standard had not changed since last year.

So the living standard is rising. Is that growth to the measure of man, does it match the expectations of the majority?

"Inadequate knowledge of the actual problems of working people and their behaviors," "unselective and uncoordinated solutions of the needs of the inhabitants of the various regions and subregions"--these sharp words in reports to the congress of the League of Communists of Serbia relate to living-standard policy.

The "short circuits" described by economists and sociologists indicate that our lives could be organized more rationally within the range of our potentialities if this society, which brags about its authenticity in numerous fields ranging from politics to soccer, were to define its living-standard policy better.

If we really want that, then we shall have to proclaim the following as extremely cynical: "Clothes make the man. Show me someone who has not experienced this principle."

CSO: 2800

END